

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE GUODIAN *LAOZI*

by

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Abstract

This thesis is focused on the recently discovered archeological text called the Guodian *Laozi* (also known as the *Dao De Jing*). The Guodian edition is the oldest known copy of the text, and it is surprisingly different from the received edition. It is ostensibly ‘incomplete’ and confusingly ‘disordered.’ Many ‘characteristic’ themes are absent. The majority of the material is focused on rulership, but it is not discussed in traditional terms or sequence. In addition, previously-unseen material, called *Taiyishengshui* or ‘*The Great One Gives Birth to Water*,’ was appended to it, which included a previously unseen cosmology. Scholarly debate continues as to the nature and purpose of both the *Taiyishengshui* and the Guodian *Laozi* as a whole.

This thesis ties together archeology, philosophy, history, and cognitive science to support the idea that the Guodian *Laozi* was meant to be a tool for rulership, and specifically used for instructing the crown prince Qingxiang of Chu, who was preparing to assume the throne near the end of the Warring States. Since the dominant theme of the Guodian *Laozi* appears to be rulership, I developed a new lens through which to read it, based on the embodied experience of Verticality, which includes the entailments of power and authority.

Section 1 introduces the text and explains why the Guodian *Laozi* is considered such an extraordinary find. Section 2 discusses the theories proffered by various scholars as to why the Guodian *Laozi* was found in such an unexpected state, and gives evidence for why the *Taiyishengshui* should be considered an integral part of the text. Section 3 explicates my own theory as to the nature of the Guodian *Laozi*, and shows how the dating of the material, as well as the philosophical contents of the material, support that thesis. In Section 4, I employ conceptual metaphor theory and blending theory to create a new lens through which to read the Guodian *Laozi*. In Section 5, I apply the new lens to the text, showing that this new lens reflects the philosophical contents of the Guodian edition better than the more traditional lens of *yin* and *yang*.

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1 Introduction

The discovery of the archeological text called the Guodian *Laozi* 郭店老子 (also known as the *Dao De Jing* 道德經) echoed through scholarly circles around the world. The *Laozi* 老子 is one of the foundational texts of Daoism, and has long held a position of respect not only among Daoism's twenty million followers, but also among academic scholars and the lay public of many nations, who look to it for wisdom and insight on many levels. Finding an edition of the text some one hundred and fifty years older than any extant version sparked the curiosity of many. Would this edition correspond to the received edition? What new insights could be gleaned from an edition so much older than any other? Scholars hoped to finally be able to answer questions as to authorship and historicity, as well as gain insight on various textual matters. However, as scholars studied the text, they did not come up with many answers—instead they only came up with more questions.

To the delight of some scholars and the chagrin of others, the Guodian edition of the *Laozi* was surprisingly different from the received edition. It was not only a challenge to the traditional form and format of the received text; it was a challenge to the traditional category of 'Daoism.' To date, only a couple of tentative translations have been attempted, and scholarly debate continues as to the nature and purpose of the text.¹

This thesis ties together archeology, philosophy, history, and cognitive science to support the idea that the Guodian *Laozi* was meant to be a tool for rulership, and specifically used for instructing the crown prince Qingxiang of Chu, who was preparing to assume the throne near the end of the Warring States. The archeological dating of the Guodian tomb, as well as the

¹ Although the Chu script bamboo text has been transcribed into 'modern' classical Chinese several times, and certain lines translated into English in scholarly articles, the only full English translation published to date has been Robert G. Henricks, *Lao Tzu's Tao Te Ching: A Translation of the Startling New Documents at Guodian* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000). Henricks himself describes his translation as 'tentative.'

tentative dating of key philosophical ideas, both point to this reign period. The philosophical themes within both the Guodian *Laozi* and the rest of the Guodian collection also match the political situation facing prince Qingxiang.

By determining that the Guodian *Laozi* is quite different than the received edition, in form, content, and perhaps even purpose, I was led to reading it through different eyes. The received *Laozi* has traditionally been read through the lens of dichotomy, driven by the prominence of *yin* and *yang* metaphorical entailments, which have been traditionally seen as the set of all complementary opposites. However, since the contents of the Guodian *Laozi* do not seem to correspond very well to the received *Laozi*, I believe the Guodian *Laozi* should be read through a different lens—one more suited to its contents and themes. After recognizing ‘rulership’ as the dominant theme of the text (and of the Guodian collection as a whole), I was able to develop a new lens through which to read the Guodian *Laozi*, based on the embodied experience of Verticality, which includes the entailments of status, power, and leadership. This new lens not only retains the relevant entailments of the *yin-yang* metaphor, but it goes much farther in explaining the terms and images present in the Guodian edition of the text, and allows the reader to see how almost every verse in the text relates to rulership.

In the following sections of the Introduction, I will introduce the Guodian edition of the text and explain why the Guodian *Laozi* is considered such an extraordinary find. Next, I will do a survey of the field and discuss the theories proffered by various scholars as to why the Guodian *Laozi* was found in such an unexpected condition, and give evidence for why the material titled *Taiyishengshui* should be considered an integral part of the Guodian *Laozi* text. Once that foundation is laid, I will explicate my own theory as to the nature of the Guodian *Laozi*, and show how the dating of the material, as well as the philosophical contents of the material,

support that thesis. Finally, I employ conceptual metaphor theory and blending theory to create a new lens through which to read the Guodian *Laozi* and apply the new lens to the text. I intend to show that this new lens reflects the philosophical contents of the Guodian edition better than the more traditional lens of *yin* and *yang*.

1.1 The Background of the Guodian Find

The 1993 discovery of sixteen philosophical texts in a tomb near Guodian 郭店 village in Hubei 湖北 province stirred the hearts and minds of scholars all over the world. In some ways, it was a very ordinary tomb; in other ways, it is quite unique. The tomb is part of the Jishan 紀山 tomb complex, which is a collection of approximately 300 tombs arranged into twenty-odd ‘clan’ cemeteries. Archeological evidence suggests that the complex was the burial site for the Warring States Chu 楚 state capital of Ying 郢, located just nine kilometres to the south.² The tomb had no clear identifying marks or dates on it, and so was simply named “*Guodian yi hao Chumu*” 郭店一號楚墓 “Guodian Tomb Number One” by excavators. Far from exceptional, the only attention this seemingly ordinary tomb received—until 1993—had been to level its burial mound in order to plant crops on top of it.

In 1993, after grave robbers broke into the tomb and left it open to the elements, the Jingmen City Museum 荊門市博物館 ordered a full recovery of all objects left in the tomb. At that time, based on its style and contents, the tomb was tentatively dated to the middle of the Warring States period, and it was proposed by some scholars that the occupant could likely have

² Liu Zuxin, “An Overview of Tomb Number One at Jingmen Guodian,” in *The Guodian Laozi: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998*, Early China Special Monograph Series, no. 5, ed. Sarah Allan and Crispin Williams, (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 2000), 23. Liu Zuxin does a wonderful job of explaining and illustrating the tomb and its contents in archeological terms.

been a tutor to the crown prince of Chu 楚, primarily based on an engraved cup found inside.³ As I will discuss, ongoing questions regarding the possible dating and occupant of this tomb could play a key role in understanding its unusual contents.⁴

Along with the various pottery, bronzes, weapons, and other personal items that were ignored by the grave robbers, the excavators found 804 bamboo strips. These strips were in remarkably intact condition, although covered in mud and jumbled into random piles by water that had entered the tomb.⁵ The strings binding the strips together into bundles had completely rotted away, and it took a meticulous effort by the Jingmen Museum to both restore the strips and

³ Allan, Sarah and Crispin Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998*. Early China Special Monograph Series, no. 5. (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 2000), 4–5 and 245–246. See also: Hubeisheng Jingmenshi bowuguan 湖北省荆門市博物館, “Jingmen Guodian yihao Chumu” 荆門郭店一號楚墓, in *Wenwu* 文物 (July 1997): 35–48 and following footnote.

⁴ According to Paul Goldin (“Xunzi in Light of the Guodian Manuscripts,” *Early China* 15 (2000): 113–146), the identity of the deceased is unclear; the suggestion that he may have been a tutor to the Crown Prince of the state of Chu has been challenged. According to Xing Wen (in Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 245–246), Cui Renyi was the first to suggest that the tomb occupant was a tutor to the crown prince of the Eastern Palace, even though he read the cup’s inscription as merely 東宮之杯 (the Eastern Palace’s cup). Li Xueqin said it should be read as 東宮之師 (the Eastern Palace’s teacher), and that other circumstantial evidence, e.g. the dove-headed staffs and the formatting of the *Yu cong* books found in the tomb, confirm that the occupant was a teacher. Many scholars at the Dartmouth conference agreed the tomb occupant was likely a tutor of the Eastern Palace. However, Li Ling challenged Li Xueqin at the International Symposium on the Chu Slips from Guodian (1999), and agreed with Cui Renyi that the inscription should be read as 東宮之杯. Though, contrary to Cui Renyi, he thereby concluded that the occupant was *not* a teacher. See Li Ling 李零, “Guodian Chujian yanjiu zhong de jige wenti: Meiguo Damusi xueyuan Guodian Chujian Laozi guoji xueshu taolunhui ganxiang” 郭店楚簡研究中的幾個問題: 美國達慕思學院郭店楚簡老子國際學術討論會感想, in *Guodian Chujian guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 郭店楚簡國際學術研討會論文集 (Wuhan: Hubei renmin, 2000), 47–49. Peng Hao concluded that the tomb occupant may have simply been a member of a prominent aristocratic family. Peng Hao 彭浩, “Guodian yihao mu de niandai yu jianben Laozi de jiegou” 郭店一號墓的年代與簡本老子的結構, *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 17 (1999), 15. As will become clear by the Conclusion of this thesis, I believe it is very likely that the tomb occupant was the tutor to King Qingxiang of Chu. However, even if the occupant is somehow later proven to *not* be a teacher, it I believe my evidence shows that he was at least: an aristocrat connected to the royal house of Chu during the time Qingxiang was the crown prince; very interested in the politics of ruling the state; an advocate of a certain type of rulership which would have been very applicable to the situation facing King Qingxiang of Chu but not favoured among the general aristocracy of the time. The fact that his politics favoured the king over his own class (i.e. described how the king could manipulate the aristocracy to his advantage) lends weight to the idea that he was a royal tutor or advisor and not just a random aristocrat. In the end, whether the cup said ‘the Eastern Palace’s teacher’ or ‘the Eastern Palace’s cup’—and even whether the tomb occupant was specifically the tutor to the prince or simply an advisor—does not affect my conclusions on the texts, since all my evidence can be viewed independently of the cup’s inscription, and works regardless of the tomb occupant’s title.

⁵ Peng Hao has detailed descriptions and photographs of the condition of the bamboo strips in 1993, in “Post-Excavation Work on the Guodian Bamboo-Slip *Laozi*: A Few Points of Explanation,” in *The Guodian Laozi*, 33–38.

then separate them into their original bundles. First, they grouped the strips based on their physical characteristics, such as: size, shape, handwriting, and notches (which marked where the string bindings would have been). Then, the written content of the strips was used to determine the order of strips within the separated bundles. It was precisely at this point that the seemingly ordinary “Tomb Number One at Guodian” became extraordinary.

1.2 The Guodian Collection of Texts

Unlike most sets of texts discovered in tombs, the Guodian collection solely consisted of philosophical texts. Furthermore, many of the texts were ‘lost’ texts, meaning that they had not been seen—or even mentioned, in some cases—since the Warring States era. As a result, the collection quickly garnered the moniker of the ‘Dead Sea scrolls’ of Chinese philosophy. Of the tomb’s sixteen texts, the only titles which corresponded to received texts were the *Laozi* 老子, the *Wuxing* 五行, and *Ziyi* 緇衣 (“The Black Robes”).⁶ The discovery of the oldest known version of the *Laozi* 老子 created quite a stir in and of itself, and prompted a conference of the world’s most eminent scholars, to which I am deeply indebted.⁷

At first glance, such a textual find appears heaven-sent. However, one problem quickly becomes apparent: the Guodian collection poses a serious challenge to traditional scholarship on Chinese philosophy. First of all, the Guodian material challenges the traditional division of ‘Confucian’ and ‘Daoist’ schools of thought. Not only were texts traditionally labeled ‘Daoist’ found alongside texts traditionally labeled ‘Confucian,’ but within these texts themselves, so-

⁶ The *Ziyi* 緇衣 is a chapter of the *Liji* 禮記 or *Book of Rites*. To be completely accurate, the *Wuxing* 五行 is technically not a ‘received’ text, in that it was not transmitted from early times into a present version, but rather discovered at a different archeological site in the 1970s. However, I have grouped it with the *Ziyi* 緇衣 and the *Laozi* 老子 here because it is one of the three texts of the Guodian find that we did already have a copy of.

⁷ The conference proceedings were published as: Sarah Allan and Crispin Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998*. Early China Special Monograph Series, no. 5. (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 2000).

called ‘typically Daoist’ thought was found within ‘Confucian’ texts, and vice versa. Furthermore, attacks on ‘Confucian’ thought were absent from the ‘Daoist’ books, and the ‘Daoist’ books also did not have several critical so-called ‘Daoist’ elements.

The ‘received’ texts did not escape this effect. For example, the *Wuxing* 五行, commonly considered a Confucian text, had its ‘Confucian’ terms of *ren* 仁 (‘benevolence’) and *yi* 義 (‘righteousness’) replaced with less polemic terms of *sheng* 聖 (‘sagacity’) and *zhi* 智 (‘wisdom’) in the Guodian edition. Its focus on achieving *ren* 仁 is also replaced with a focus on achieving *de* 德 (‘Virtue’).⁸ The Guodian *Laozi* also has *ren* 仁 and *yi* 義 replaced with less ‘Confucian’ terms (*zhi* 智 ‘wisdom’ and *bian* 辨 ‘disputation’), and additionally has *sheng* 聖 and *zhi* 智 replaced with *qiao* 巧 (‘skillfulness’) and *li* 利 (‘profit’) in Chapter A:1(R19). This was, in fact, the second time in recent years that the supposed ‘Confucian’ *Wuxing* was found buried with the ‘Daoist’ *Laozi*. The two were found printed on the same piece of silk at the Mawangdui 馬王堆 site.⁹ Finding them together again at Guodian added credence to the growing theory that the two texts contained compatible ideology and were perhaps commonly studied together.

⁸ Guo Yi 郭沂, *Guodian zhujian yu xian-Qin xueshu sixiang* 郭店竹簡與先秦學術思想 *The Guodian bamboo manuscripts and pre-Qin academic thought* (Shanghai: Shanghai Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2001). In comparing the Guodian and Mawangdui editions, he notes: e.g. 1: The MWD version discusses the steps to attain *ren* 仁 (benevolence), which are *yi* 義 (righteousness), *li* 禮 (ritual) and *zhi* (wisdom), respectively (chapter 10); but the Guodian version begins with the steps to attain *de* 德 (virtue), which are *sheng* 聖 (sagacity), *zhi* 智 (wisdom), and *ren* 仁 (benevolence). e.g. 2: The MWD Ch 18 states: “*Renyi liyue zhi suo you ye*” 仁義禮樂之所由也 (“Benevolence and righteousness are the sources for rituals and music”); but the Guodian Chapter 5.2 reads: “*Shengzhi liyue zhi suo you ye*” 聖智禮樂之所由也 (“Sagehood and wisdom are the sources for rituals and music”).

⁹ The discovery of two *Laozi* silk manuscripts at Mawangdui, near Changsha, Hunan province in 1973 marks an important milestone in modern *Laozi* research. The manuscripts, identified simply as “A” (*jia* 甲) and “B” (*yi* 乙), were found in a tomb that was sealed in 168 B.C.E. The texts themselves can be dated earlier, the “A” manuscript being the older of the two, copied in all likelihood before 195 B.C.E. See D. C. Lau, *Tao te ching* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1982), Boltz, William G. 1984. “Textual Criticism and the Ma Wang Tui *Lao-tzu*.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 44: 185-224, and Robert G. Henricks, *Lao-Tzu Te-Tao Ching: A New Translation Based on the Recently Discovered Ma-wang-tui Texts* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989).

1.3 The Guodian *Laozi*

The Guodian's version of the *Laozi* is special for three reasons: its age, which puts it 150 years earlier than any other known edition; its inclusion in a primarily 'Confucian' collection of tomb-mates; and its written contents, which constitute an extremely unusual version of the text. Its age immediately brought up questions of authorship and authenticity, with many scholars wondering if it could be the *ur* text (original version) of the *Laozi*. This topic will be discussed in more depth in section 2, titled "Reading the Guodian *Laozi* and the TYSS Material as One Text." Its unexpected positioning alongside 'Confucian' tomb-mates demanded that intellectual history of the Warring States be reexamined. This topic will be discussed in more depth in section 3, titled "The Guodian *Laozi* in Context". However, its surprising contents are the primary reason the Guodian *Laozi* is worth studying in such depth.

Compared to the received version of the text, the Guodian version is ostensibly 'incomplete' and confusingly 'disordered.' For one, it only contains 2/5 of the received text (approximately 32 of the received text's 81 chapters; although only 24 correspond 1:1).¹⁰ Furthermore, many themes traditionally considered 'characteristic' of the text are strangely and inexplicably absent. The familiar urgings to be weak and passive like water, and the female are absent. Most of the chapters referring to the mystery that is *Dao* 道 are also absent; instead, most of the chapters refer to the ruling of the state. Also gone are the attacks on the 'Confucian' values of *ren* 仁 ('benevolence') and *yi* 義 ('righteousness'), as well as other lines referring to 'Confucian' terms.¹¹ Based on the situation surrounding the discovery of the strips, one could surmise that all the 'missing' references, lines, and chapters must have been on damaged or

¹⁰ See the Standard Chinese Edition: Jingmenshi Bowuguan 荊門市博物館 Jingmen Museum, *Guodian Chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡 *The Bamboo Slips from the Chu Tomb at Guodian*. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe (Wenwu Publishing House, 1998). English Translation: Robert G Henricks. *Lao Tzu's Tao Te Ching: A Translation of the Startling New Documents Found at Guodian*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

¹¹ In Chapters A:1 (R19) and C:1 (R17–18).

unrecovered strips; however, in many cases, the relevant strips were completely recovered and restored. Close examination of these strips reveals many instances where lines and chapters followed each other seamlessly, just not in the order of the received text, and that certain key terms and lines were simply omitted, or in some cases had alternate terms in their place.

Not only were the words, lines, and chapters of the Guodian *Laozi* in different arrangements than the received version, the entire text was rearranged into unfamiliar bundles. Gone are the two traditional thematic sections of *Dao* 道 ('the Way') and *De* 德 ('Virtue'). Instead, the text was bound into three bundles, labeled A (*jia* 甲), B (*yi* 乙), and C (*bing* 丙), with *Dao* 道 and *De* 德 themes sprinkled liberally throughout, and strange, previously unseen material, collectively called the *Taiyishengshui* 太一生水 by the compilers (hereafter, TYSS), was appended to Part C.

Out of the fourteen strips in Part C, about half (8 strips) can be seamlessly assembled into a previously unseen cosmology, and the rest are incomplete fragments—some that appear to enquire about the name and designation of the *Dao* 道, and others that appear to be references to the legend of Gong Gong 共工, who vied for rulership in the period of Yao 堯 and ultimately lost to Zhuan Xu 顓頊. Some of the Part C material (i.e. enquiring about the name of the *Dao* 道) is extremely compatible with the material in the received *Laozi* and therefore its incorporation into the study of the *Laozi* poses little scholarly challenge. On the other hand, other Part C material (i.e. the Gong Gong references) does not initially appear to be related to the *Laozi* at all, and poses a larger challenge to comprehend and integrate into the received tradition. Finally, the biggest challenge the TYSS poses to the interpretation of the Guodian *Laozi* is its cosmology, which does not correspond to traditional 'Daoist' cosmology.

While some of the terms of the TYSS cosmology, like *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 and *wanwu* 萬物, are reassuringly familiar to readers of such classic ‘Daoist’ texts as the *Laozi* 老子 and the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, the order and method in which the various entities are produced is frustratingly different from traditional accounts. First of all, the received *Laozi* offers a simple cosmology in Chapter 42, in which “道生一，一生二，二生三，三生萬物” (“The Way gave birth to the One; The One gave birth to the Two; The Two gave birth to the Three; And The Three gave birth to the ten thousand things”).¹² In contrast, the TYSS cosmology consists of a rather substantial list of entities that are being produced—a list which decentralizes and demotes “The Two” (i.e. *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽) down to sixth and seventh in order of creation.¹³ In the traditional understanding of Daoist cosmology, *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 are born directly of “The One,” and are formative powers behind the rest of creation. However, in the TYSS, *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 come into creation only *after* Water 水, Heaven 天, Earth 地, Spirits 神, and Luminaries 明. There is no trace of the traditional ‘One ... Two ... Three’ cosmology in the Guodian *Laozi*; Chapter R42 is one of the chapters that is completely absent in the Guodian version. Furthermore, as Robert Henricks points out, although the received *Laozi* refers to the *Dao* 道 as ‘the One’ several times (in chapters R10, R14, R22, R39, and R42), *none* of these chapters are present in the *Guodian* version.¹⁴ Finally, Isabelle Robinet has pointed out the inconsistency between the method of generation found in the two texts: in the in the *Laozi*, things are ‘born’ (*sheng* 生) of each other

¹² Henricks, *Lao-tzu Te-Tao Ching*, 11.

¹³ Vincent Shen offers a solution to the apparent contradiction in the two cosmologies: perhaps scholars have been mistaken all along as to the identity of “The One,” “The Two,” and “The Three.” Shen suggests that rather than representing primordial *qi* 氣, *yin* 陰, and *yang* 陽, and their interaction, “The One” could actually be water, “The Two” just pairs of complementary opposites, and “The Three” the interaction of the other two. Vincent Shen, “Laozi (Lao Tzu),” in *Encyclopedia of Chinese Philosophy*: 紀伊國屋書店, ed. Antonio S. Cua (New York: Routledge, 2002), 355–361, especially 357–358. However I don’t think this theory received much acceptance from scholars in general.

¹⁴ Henricks, *Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching*, 18.

in succession, whereas in the TYSS, things ‘return to assist’ (*fu* 輔) *Taiyi* 太一 in producing new things.¹⁵

1.4 Clarification of Terms

At this point it is important that I clarify some important terms I will be using throughout my thesis. Terms such as ‘Confucian’ and ‘Daoist’ have been proven to be anachronistic. The Warring States period was a tumultuous period, characterized by war, political instability, and general chaos. This situation generated not only extreme anxiety, but also a multitude of proposals as to how to resolve the troubles of the time. As a result, it has traditionally been called the era of ‘the hundred schools’ of thought. Although there may well have been a ‘hundred schools’ of thought at that time, many of these were small and did not survive the era. For centuries, scholars have generally recognized six major philosophical schools as comprising ‘the philosophy of Warring States,’ and saw them as ‘competing’ philosophies.

To over-simplify quite a bit, there were the philosophers Confucius 孔子, Mencius 孟子, and Xunzi 荀子 offering varying views of ‘Confucianism’ (or *Ru* 儒, as it was called in Confucius’ time); Xunzi’s student Han Feizi 韩非子 espousing ‘Legalism’; Mozi 墨子 extolling impartial caring or consequentialism, commonly referred to as ‘Mohism’; the sophist Gongsun Long 公孙龙 of the ‘School of Names’, offering assurances that all will be well if people could only rectify the names of everything; and the ‘Yangists,’ following the ‘Primitivist’ Yang Zhu 楊朱, who advocated returning to a hedonist existence, pleasuring oneself and placing one’s own self-interest first and foremost. In contrast to all of these, Laozi 老子 and Zhuangzi 莊子 were both considered to be ‘Daoists’ or ‘Daoist Primitivists.’ The Confucians tried to defend their Way against the Mohists, Yangists, and Daoists, and in addition had more than their share of

¹⁵ Ibid, 124–125.

internal discord, with Xunzi criticizing Mencius. In fact, when engaging other philosophers, Xunzi went beyond criticism, and took an angle of attack or division, evidenced by his chapter called “Contra the Twelve Philosophers,” where he sought to trump all other schools views with his own.¹⁶ Mozi was principally concerned with criticizing what he thought was the excessive rituals of Confucianism. Like Xunzi, he was divisive, as evidenced by his chapter titled “Condemnation of the Ru.”¹⁷ Yang Zhu vented against both Confucians and Mohists. Laozi criticized the Confucians, but Zhuangzi took shots at all of the schools, with perhaps the exception of Yang Zhu, whose work only survives in the Miscellaneous chapters of the *Zhuangzi* and in some chapters of the *Liezi* 列子.¹⁸ This version of history—with these particular school divisions—has guided scholarship for centuries, and was rarely questioned until recent years, when archeological finds, like the one at Guodian, caused scholars to reevaluate the intellectual history of the Warring States.

The reason scholars were initially so startled and confused by the ‘mixing’ of doctrinal material in the Guodian tomb is because they were following the above *ex post facto* categories. Recent scholarship has suggested that in the Warring States era, there were actually no clear demarcations or tensions between philosophical schools.¹⁹ During the Warring States, ideas were shared, discussed, and promoted by scholars regardless of school, as the material in the Guodian tomb can attest. The terms ‘Confucian’ and ‘Daoist’ were actually delineated into strict

¹⁶ John Knoblock. *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 212–232.

¹⁷ The descriptions of the schools and their interactions were all taken from Knoblock. *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works*, 212–232.

¹⁸ Basic knowledge of the various schools in the Warring States can be found in Edward G. Slingerland’s *Confucius: Analects* (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2003), 244–276.

¹⁹ Liu Xiaogan, “Texts in the Guodian Manuscripts,” in *Encyclopedia of Chinese Philosophy*, 150–152.

‘categories’ by much later by editors such as Sima Tan 司馬談, Sima Qian 司馬遷, and Liu

Xiang 劉向.²⁰

The categorization of material and ideas into discrete ‘schools’ is not only problematic for distinguishing *between groups* of scholars in the Warring States, but it is also problematic for *defining* a single group of scholars. For example, by surveying the collection of Warring States texts labeled ‘Daoist,’ Harold Roth has identified three types of texts:

1. Cosmology: based upon Dao as the dominant unifying power in the cosmos.
2. Self-cultivation: the attainment of Dao through a process of emptying out the usual contents of the mind until a profound state of tranquility is achieved.
3. Political thought: the application of the cosmology and the self-cultivation methods to the problem of rulership.²¹

Roth goes on to comment: “All [of these so-called ‘Daoist’ texts] share a common cosmology and self-cultivation agenda, but ... differ in the area of political thought.” He goes on to muse that the three types “are simply heuristic devices for organizing textual sources, might they in fact refer to actual master-disciple lineages?”²²

It quickly becomes apparent that there is little accuracy or meaning obtained through the use of these classifying terms. However, I will still use these terms where necessary for the sake of simplicity and clarity, while emphasizing their specious nature with single quotes.

The naming of the Guodian material as the ‘*Laozi*’ and the ‘TYSS’ is also anachronistic. Again, I will use these terms for the sake of convenience simply because so many scholars refer to the material in this way, including the first Chinese scholars to assemble and order the strips found in the Guodian tomb, the editors of the *Guodian chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡. It would be much more accurate to refer to these strips as ‘material that corresponds to material in the

²⁰ See Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Michael Nylan, “Constructing Lineages and Inventing Traditions through Exemplary Figures in Early China,” *T’oung Pao* 89, (2003): 1–41.

²¹ Harold Roth, “Some Methodological Issues in the Study of the Guodian *Laozi* Parallels,” in *The Guodian Laozi*, 84.

²² Ibid, 85.

received text of the *Laozi* plus material which does not correspond to material in the received text of the *Laozi*, which were discovered together in a single tomb, bundled into three intermingled groups.’ However that is extremely unwieldy, and does not help us in knowing which precise material is being referred to in other scholars’ work. This has already become a problem in discussing the Guodian *Laozi* material, with some scholars attempting to preserve the numbering of the received chapters for the Guodian material, and others developing their own numbering systems. Therefore, in this matter, I have followed the strip numbering system provided by the collators of the *Guodian chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹简, despite the fact that the order of some of these strips continues to be contested, and have included the received chapter number (with a designation ‘R’) in brackets simply for convenience, e.g. Guodian *Laozi* Part A Chapter 9, which corresponds to received Chapter 2, would appear as A:9 (R2). Finally, when I use the term ‘the Guodian *Laozi*,’ I am referring to the complete set of three bundles (including the TYSS material); otherwise I will specify ‘*Laozi* A/ Part A,’ ‘*Laozi* B/ Part B,’ ‘*Laozi* C/ Part C,’ or ‘TYSS’ specifically.

Finally, I will try to follow Harold Roth’s suggestions when using terms and definitions regarding textual criticism of early Chinese literature. Roth summarizes the important terms of textual criticism for early Chinese texts as follows:

A text is the unique complex and expression of ideas of an author or authors, an edition is a distinct record containing a unique state of a text, an exemplar is a copy of a printed edition (or the actual manuscript of a handwritten edition), a recension is a foundational version or state of a text, a redaction may be either the first record of a recension or the oldest record of a unique “sub-state” of this recension, the ancestral redaction is the oldest extant edition in a particular lineage of editions and as such represents the oldest extant witness to the unique sub-state of a recension contained in all the editions of its lineage, and the “received text” (*texus receptus*) is the extant recension or recensions of a text.²³

²³ Harold Roth, “Text and Edition in Early Chinese Philosophical Literature,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113 (1993): 214–27.

2 Reading the Guodian *Laozi* and the TYSS Material as One Text

In order to better understand the nature of the ‘text’ called the Guodian *Laozi*, it is important to analyze the material that corresponds to the received version of the text. However, it is perhaps even more important to look at the material labeled ‘TYSS,’ which consists of the material *not* found in the received version of the *Laozi*, and determine its relevance. However, in order to determine the relevance of the TYSS material, the nature of the Guodian *Laozi* as a ‘text’ must first be determined. Is it a single collection of material, with all parts meant to be read together? Or is it a set of three (or more) ‘texts,’ that could be studied together or apart? Or is it divisible into multiple editions of the same ‘text’? The following section addresses these very questions, explains the various opinions held by scholars of the field, and concludes by introducing some archeological evidence for reading the Guodian *Laozi* and TYSS material together as one text.

2.1 The Importance of Reading the Guodian *Laozi* and TYSS Material as One Text

The way the material is grouped has a significant impact on how it is read and interpreted. The fact that the TYSS contains a different cosmology from the received *Laozi* means that scholars must determine what to do with it—integrate it into the received tradition, or discard it as a separate philosophy. If the Guodian *Laozi* and the TYSS material are read as one text, the cosmology must be somehow integrated and explained in terms of the received tradition, and the way scholars have been reading and interpreting the received edition may have to be revised.

On the other hand, it is possible that the Guodian *Laozi* is actually a different edition than the received *Laozi*. It may be one of several recensions or redactions that evolved in parallel. From this stance, it is possible that the Guodian *Laozi* could be read and interpreted in a different light or through a different lens than the received edition. If this is the case, then perhaps the

way the received text has been read would not need to be revised, and scholars could focus on the Guodian *Laozi* as a separate edition requiring fresh eyes to be read properly.

2.2 Philosophical Arguments

Examination of the Guodian *Laozi* leads to two primary questions, which naturally are multi-layered: (1) What is the nature of the Guodian *Laozi*? Is it a coveted *ur* text, that is, the so-called ‘original’ or first version of the text that more clearly expresses the ‘original author’s intentions’—in other words, a text untainted by later-era scholars’ commentaries and edits? Or is the Guodian *Laozi* a collection of excerpts from an older intact version of the text, maybe even taken from the *ur* text itself, copied perhaps by the tomb’s occupant for enjoyment or teaching purposes? Is it a complete text, but simply one recension of many? Was the original *Laozi* passed down orally in sections which required no particular order, and the Guodian *Laozi* simply a selection of these? Conversely, perhaps there is no *ur* text of the *Laozi* at all: Is the Guodian *Laozi* simply a collection of oral sayings that were circulating in the Warring States era, recorded by a person or persons unrelated to the *Laozi* as we know it today? (2) How does the TYSS relate to the *Laozi*? Why was it attached to the *Laozi* in the Guodian collection? Was it formerly considered a part of that text? Where did it come from? How does it affect the dating of the *Laozi*? What impact does the cosmology of the TYSS have upon the *Laozi* and its related tradition?²⁴

There is serious disagreement among scholars as to the nature and relevance of the Guodian *Laozi* and the TYSS material in particular. As the following section shows, the philosophical evidence is far from clear in this case; the physical evidence seems far more

²⁴ I would like to again show my appreciation to Sarah Allan, Crispin Williams, and the other scholars who attempted to answer many of these questions at the The Guodian *Laozi*: International Conference at Dartmouth College, May 1998.

compelling. In the end, decisively dating the material may be the key to determining the relevance of the TYSS to the Guodian *Laozi*, or to the Daoist tradition as a whole.

While the significance of the Guodian find as a whole is certainly not in question, scholarly debate continues to rage over the significance and interpretation of many of the individual texts, with many researchers heavily invested in preserving a particular interpretation of a text or a particular philosophical tradition. The Guodian *Laozi* is one such text. Although one hopes that all researchers are by nature objective and unbiased, eagerly awaiting the latest discoveries in their field in order to update their research and get closer to ‘the truth’ (as the evidence presents it), sadly, this is not always the case. While some researchers did eagerly dive into the complexities posed by the Guodian *Laozi*, and were willing to look at new interpretations and novel possibilities, others dug in their heels, determined to preserve the status quo. It is conceivable and even understandable that a certain researcher might want to maintain a certain dating or reading of a text, especially if (s)he has based years of research—and perhaps their reputation—upon that reading. However, even a cursory look at the general scholarship shows that it is not just individual researchers who suffer from this bias, but entire cultures.

In the case of the Guodian *Laozi*, a distinct trend emerges. Western scholars generally seem not only open to the possibility that the Guodian *Laozi* could be a collection of excerpts, but also to the possibility that there was no *ur* text in the first place. This position easily allowed them to consider the TYSS material to be an integral part of the Guodian *Laozi*. Upon the discovery of the Guodian *Laozi*, many Western scholars jumped at the chance to explore whether the oldest versions of the *Laozi* fit their theories that the *Laozi* was originally a collection of sayings created by a group of ‘old masters’²⁵ which was collated over time by

²⁵ Translating ‘*laozi*’ as “old 子’s,” with *zi* 子 representing a group of masters, as it does in many philosophical texts in the Warring States.

various educated people. In contrast, many Chinese scholars tried to prove the traditional Daoist belief that Laozi the man²⁶ wrote *Laozi* the book in one sitting as he left the Hangu pass, traveling towards the West. This led them to assert that there must be an *ur* text of the *Laozi*, and if the Guodian *Laozi* was not it, then it must have been based upon it. It also encouraged the separation of the TYSS material from the rest of the *Laozi* material, and a rejection of the idea that it could have been an integral part of the Guodian *Laozi*.

The following section introduces academia's main theories about the nature of the Guodian *Laozi*, and show which scholars adhere to each of them.

2.2.1 The Guodian *Laozi* as *Ur* Text

The prospect of finding the *ur* text of the *Laozi* is extremely exciting. It would allow us to see the original ideas and intentions of the text's author(s), before later editors and commentators added their own thoughts or removed sections they found 'offensive' or 'incongruent' to their own beliefs. It would also allow us to see how the *Laozi* has evolved over the years into the received version. However, not many researchers believe that the Guodian *Laozi* could indeed be the *ur* text, which would put the 'fully developed' written *Laozi* around 3rd century BCE.

Japanese researcher Ichiro Koike follows the research of Chinese scholar Cui Renyi, and argues that the Guodian *Laozi* is itself a complete version of the *Laozi* that was circulating in the Warring States and furthermore is the ancestral version of the Mawangdui *Laozi*.²⁷ Koike believes that the Guodian *Laozi* is the 'original' form of the Mawangdui *Laozi*, which in turn is the precursor of the extant version. He points to a consistent literary style and to the use of *wu* 吾 flowing through both the Guodian *Laozi* and the Mawangdui *Laozi* as his evidence. He also

²⁶ Translating '*laozi*' as a name or as 'the old master.'

²⁷ Ichiro Koike 小池一郎. "Kakuten Sokan *Roushi* to 'Roushi' no sokei" 郭店楚簡『老子』と「老子」の祖型 in *Doshisha Studies in Language and Culture* 同志社大学言語文化学会 2 no. 3 (January 15, 2000): 291–326.

claims the Guodian *Laozi* is the lost sixteen-section text written by Lao Laizi that is attributed to Laozi in the *Shiji* 史記 (*Records of the Grand Historian*), dated 100 BCE, and the *Han Shu* 漢書 (*Book of Han*), dated 111 CE.²⁸ Koike glosses over the issue of whether the Guodian *Laozi* or the *Lao Laizi* has fifteen or sixteen chapters, simply saying that some people say the *Lao Laizi* has fifteen and some say it has sixteen. The Guodian *Laozi* could also be considered to have fifteen or sixteen chapters, depending on whether one believes that the repeated chapter 64 is an error or part of the text. Koike does not seem to have any problem with this inconsistency. Consequently, Mr. Koike believes that the three sections (ABC) of the Guodian *Laozi* belong together as one text.

Interestingly, although Koike based his work on the research of Cui Renyi, Cui Renyi himself did not seem to believe that the Guodian *Laozi* belonged together as one text, insisting that the three texts had different authors, but he did ponder the possibility that either the three volumes together (which comprise 16 sections) or else just the *Laozi* C (made of 18 sections) could be the lost *Lao Laizi* text. In this, he refers to specific quotes in the *Shiji* (“Lao Laizi wrote a book in 15 chapters, and used Daoist words.”) as well as the *Hanshu* (which refers to “the *Lao Laizi*’s 16 chapters”),²⁹ which nicely clears up the question of why Koike mentions that “some people say there are 15 [chapters] and some say there are 16 [chapters],” and allows for both possibilities, that is, that the repeated chapter 64 in the Guodian *Laozi* was an error or was not.³⁰

²⁸ Koike, “Kakuten Sokan *Roushi* to ‘Roushi’ no sokei,” 321 and 326. Few modern scholars take the *Shiji* as an accurate factual source of information. The two texts he cites were obviously written quite a bit after the *Laozi*, and therefore run the risk of simply retroactively attributing the popular belief of their day rather than accurately conveying the facts of the times surrounding the texts themselves.

²⁹ Cui Renyi 崔仁義, *Jingmen Guodian Chu jian Laozi yanjiu* 荊門郭店楚簡老子研究 (Beijing: Kexue, 1998), 29.

³⁰ Ichiro Koike 小池一郎. “Kakuten Sokan *Roushi* to ‘Roushi’ no sokei,” 322.

2.2.2 The Guodian *Laozi* as a Thematic Collection of Excerpts from the *Ur* Text

Several Chinese scholars believe that the Guodian *Laozi* is a collection of excerpts from the *ur* text, which was completed at an earlier date. For example, Gao Ming believes that none of the three sections of the Guodian *Laozi* are the *ur* text of the *Laozi*, and that none of them are complete texts by themselves. Rather, he claims they are “copied selections from the classic text of the *Laozi*.”³¹ This position would explain the inconsistencies of the Guodian *Laozi*, while still preserving both the idea that the *Laozi* was written as a complete text and the notion that an *ur* text for the *Laozi* must exist.

Chen Guying points to the account of the *Laozi* in the *Shiji*, and concludes: “The date of the Guodian tomb is not much more than 100 years after the death of Lao Dan (ca. 480 BCE). Thus, the find does not conflict in any way with the theory that Lao Dan, that is to say Laozi, wrote this book in its present form... after Lao Dan wrote and compiled the book, there came to be several different versions.”³²

Following this line of thinking, there may have been many of such books of excerpts, created with a particular theme in mind, for example, the Guodian *Laozi* appears to have a theme of ruling the state, and may have been collated by the Guodian tomb occupant, who may have been the tutor to a crown prince. Wang Bo agrees that a 5000-word *Laozi*, which was a version of the received text, existed prior to the Guodian *Laozi*, and claims that the Guodian *Laozi* ‘groups’ (2 sets of pairs: A1+A2 and B+C) were selections from that text made on the basis of similarity in theme and made for a specific purpose, i.e. teaching.³³ Wang Bo notes that “the order of the chapters may not have been fixed and that this is a phenomenon we see in other

³¹ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 65.

³² Ibid, 142–143. Also see Chen Guying 陳鼓應, *Lao Zhuang Xin Lun* 老莊新論 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, 1992), especially 43–58.

³³ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 154.

excavated texts where sections of a single text have different sequences from the corresponding received text.”³⁴ According to Li Xueqin, sometimes the order of excerpts in these texts may seem “more logical” than the original because they were selected to fit a theme, however that does not necessarily mean that they were originally ordered in that way.³⁵

D.C. Lau also believed that the chapters were once divided into smaller units that were originally independent. However, even prior to the discovery of the Guodian *Laozi*, D.C. Lau saw the received *Laozi* as an anthology of earlier material.³⁶ Xing Wen agrees with D.C. Lau, and hypothesized that “both the Guodian *Laozi* and the received *Laozi* derive from the same unknown source.”³⁷ Japanese scholar Asano Yuuichi uses Ikeda Tomohisa’s *Guodian Chujian Laozi yanjiu*³⁸ as the basis of his own research. Asano Yuuichi believes the Guodian *Laozi* can be seen as a compilation of “blocks” of text copied from another, previously extant ‘complete’ (and therefore larger) text.³⁹ As defense, he notes that there are very few lines that appear in this version that are not in the extant version, and no additional chapters, and no commentary.⁴⁰ Chinese scholars Rudolph Wagner⁴¹ and Paul Thomson⁴² claim that the lack of repetition of lines

³⁴ Ibid, 143. Also see page 154.

³⁵ Ibid, 143–144.

³⁶ Ibid, 128.

³⁷ Ibid, 146. However, we shall see Xing Wen does not agree that this ‘source’ is likely to be the *ur* text.

³⁸ Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久, *Guodian Chujian Laozi yanjiu* 郭店楚简老子研究 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1998).

³⁹ Asano Yuuichi 浅野裕一, “Kakuten Sokan ‘Takakatsu sei sui’ to ‘Roushi’ no Doo” 郭店楚简『太一生水』と『老子』の道, in *Bulletin of Chinese Studies* 中国研究集刊, 26 no. 6 (2000): 2687.

⁴⁰ This last evidence is rather weak, since there *would be no* commentary if it were an *ur* text. Also, note that this argument assumes that the *Taiyi sheng shui* is not part of the *Laozi*. William Boltz says that the *Taiyi sheng shui* is definitely ‘additional material’ which matches in handwriting, strip length, etc, but is being rejected as ‘additional *Laozi* material’ because it is not in the received *Laozi*. William G. Boltz, “The Fourth-Century B. C. Guodian Manuscripts from Chu and the Composition of the *Laotzy*,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119 no. 4 (Oct.–Dec. 1999): 595.

⁴¹ Despite his Western-sounding name, Rudolph G. Wagner would likely label himself as a “Chinese scholar,” since his book, *A Chinese Reading of the Daodejing: Wang Bi’s Commentary on the Laozi with Critical Text and Translation*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), boasts: “Presenting the commentary of the third-century sage Wang Bi, this book provides a Chinese way of reading the *Daodejing*, one which will surprise Western readers.”

⁴² Despite his Western-sounding name, Paul Thompson would be considered a “Chinese scholar.” According to his recent obituary in the UK Guardian, Paul was born and raised in China, the son of Irish missionaries. Sarah Allan,

between this and the extant version, and the fact that there were no passages found in the Guodian *Laozi* that were not in the received text, proves that the Guodian *Laozi* is simply sections copied from the received text.⁴³

2.2.3 The Guodian *Laozi* as One of Several Recensions of the *Ur* Text

Another theory is that the inconsistencies in the Guodian *Laozi* can be explained through multiple lineages of the *Laozi*. This theory would serve the same function as the theory that the Guodian *Laozi* is made of selections from the *ur* text: it would explain the discrepancies while still preserving the traditional belief in a complete *Laozi ur* text. Chen Guying believes the versions of the *Laozi* found at Guodian are indeed copies resulting from different lineages, pointing to the repeated chapter 64 as evidence.⁴⁴ He furthermore claims: “The Guodian text seems to be closer to the Mawangdui copies in some places, but closer to the received text in others. Therefore the received text may in some cases contain passages that reflect an earlier version than the Mawangdui copies. In other words, different editions may have different sources.”⁴⁵ Asano Yuuichi also explains away the one chapter (R64) that is duplicated in both section A and section C, with different handwriting and word choices, as being from different lineages.⁴⁶

2.2.4 The Guodian *Laozi* as a Complete Orally Transmitted Text

There is, however, another theory that would explain for minor variations in word choice and phrasing. There is strong evidence to suggest that the *Laozi* was originally a memorized oral

“Obituary of Paul Thompson,” *The Guardian* UK Newspaper (Wednesday, June 27, 2007), <http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/2007/jun/27/guardianobituaries.obituaries>

⁴³ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 145.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 142–143.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 141.

⁴⁶ Asano Yuuichi 浅野裕一, “Kakuten Sokan ‘Takakatsu sei sui’ to ‘Roushi’ no Doo,” 2687.

text. The rhythm and rhyme of its verses offer a clue that it was meant to be spoken aloud. The way certain homonym characters were substituted for others is another clue of its orality.

One theory is that while the text may have existed somewhere in written form, since written texts were hard to come by, it was passed down orally.⁴⁷ The oral nature of the text would not only force scholars to work from memory (which could lead to variations and omissions), but also cause scribes to use more homonyms as they wrote down what they heard. Wang Bo and Crispin Williams further suggest there may not have been a ‘correct order’ at all: the *Laozi* is not a narrative, it merely speaks on a topic. Therefore, the order in which the sections were presented would not matter. Furthermore, since it is easier to memorize a large text in ‘chunks,’ the various sections would have held together to form cohesive units, while the larger text was simply the entirety of all of these units, in any order.⁴⁸

There is, however, yet another theory that would keep the logic of the oral nature of the text, while moving away from the idea that the *Laozi* was a complete and cohesive text written in the Warring States. In this theory there is no *ur* text, and the Guodian *Laozi* loses its status not only as a ‘complete’ text, but also as the ancestor to the received versions. Unpopular theory? Surprisingly not, especially among Western scholars.

2.2.5 There is No *Ur* Text: Guodian *Laozi* as a Collection of Sayings

The possibility that there is no *ur* text of the *Laozi* is one favored by most Western scholars. In this case, there remains two possibilities: First, the Guodian *Laozi* is merely a collection of units that were circulating orally around 300–400 BCE, and this collection was built upon over time, by various editors adding material from various sources, to eventually form the first ‘complete’ *Laozi* text (perhaps the Mawangdui *Laozi*) around the mid- to late- 3rd century

⁴⁷ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 143–144.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 144.

BCE. Second, that the Guodian *Laozi* and the received *Laozi* are merely two different collections of these oral units. Not surprisingly, we find few Chinese scholars adhering to either of these options. The idea that the entire legend of the *Laozi* is not true, and that the *Laozi* was not even a book until later compilers put it together, may be just too extreme for most Chinese scholars. In fact, the only Chinese scholars that seem to favor this position never even saw the Guodian *Laozi* when they made their suggestions.

Only a couple of scholars entertain the notion that the *Laozi* was incrementally built over time. Bruce Brook has his own theory about how the *Laozi* “crystallized,” known as Bruce Brook’s Theory of Accretion. Brook claims that the verses in the Guodian *Laozi* were not uniquely or randomly chosen, but rather, since they could be found without exception in the received *Laozi*, that they must have been “selected from a still incomplete phase of the later received *Laozi*.”⁴⁹ Robin Yates believes it is possible that there was some “still incomplete phase of the later received *Laozi*” from which the Guodian *Laozi* was created, but still has his doubts a complete text existed at that time. He raises the point that if there were a complete version of the text, surely a person, especially a teacher, would rather be buried with the more valuable complete version.⁵⁰

Far more scholars subscribe to the second theory that both the Guodian *Laozi* and the received *Laozi* are two different collections of the aphorisms that were in general circulation in the Warring States. William Boltz suggests that the Guodian *Laozi* is in no way a proto-version of the received *Laozi*. Instead, he proposes that “The Guodiann passages may in effect be thought of as a kind of pre-Laotzyy textual ‘raw material’, textual building blocks, so to speak,

⁴⁹ Ibid, 239. Also see E. Bruce Brooks, *Warring States Working Group Newsletter* 9 (Sept. 1, 1998) and 13 (March 10, 1999).

⁵⁰ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 143. Re: texts circulating in units, also see Robin Yates, *Five Lost Classics: Tao, Huang-Lao, and Yin-Yang in Han China* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1997), 25–32.

out of which a part of the work we know as the *Laotzyy* later crystallized.”⁵¹ William Boltz refers to the early work of Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, who in turn was expanding on work by Liang Qichao 梁啟超, Feng Youlan 馮友蘭, and Qian Mu 錢穆, among others, to show that the idea that the *Laozi* was created out of a collection of units circulating orally has been around for quite a while.⁵² Harold Roth suggests “we must give very serious consideration to the hypothesis that each bundle of these parallels represents a different unique assemblage of these distinct units of verse, all of which were also later assembled into the *Laozi*.”⁵³

Michael LaFargue and Sarah Allan agree that the groups of lines in the Guodian *Laozi* form small units that can stand alone, and believe that the received *Laozi* solidified out of an accumulation of these small units.⁵⁴ Susan Blader even offers the suggestion that the units might have originally been part of a completely oral tradition, based on her research on phonetic borrowing and other oral elements.⁵⁵ Harold Roth agrees that an oral tradition would explain why the order and structure of the verses (and phrasings) were flexible and unstable, causing the text of the *Laozi* to be “in a state of flux at the time the Guodian parallels were written down.”⁵⁶ Harold Roth and William Baxter propose a fairly concrete identity for this large group of oral units: they agree that the *Laozi*, along with the “*Neiye*” 內業 and the “*Xinshu*” 心術 books of the *Guanzi* 管子 all belong to a tradition of Daoist verse that was both oral and anonymous.⁵⁷ If they are correct, it would point to the three parts of the Guodian *Laozi* as well as the received

⁵¹ Boltz, “The Fourth-Century B. C. Guodian Manuscripts from Chu and the Composition of the *Laotzyy*,” 594.

⁵² Ibid, 594–595.

⁵³ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 83.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 75. and Sarah Allan, “The Great One, Water and the *Laozi*: New Light from Guodian,” *T'oung Pao* 89 no. 4–5 (2003): 242. Further discussion found in Michael LaFargue’s *A Reasoned Approach to The Tao of the Tao Te Ching* (Albany: State of New York Press, 1992) and *Tao and Method*: (Albany: State of New York Press, 1994).

⁵⁵ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 145.

⁵⁶ Harold D. Roth, “Some Methodological Issues in the Study of the Guodian *Laozi* Parallels,” 81.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 82–83. Also see William Baxter, “Situating the Language of the *Lao-Tzu*: The Probable Date of the *Tao Te Ching*,” in Michael LaFargue and Livia Kohn, eds., *Lao-Tzu and the Tao-Te-Ching* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 231–54.

Laozi each being formed separately out of this larger collection of Daoist verse, rather than one evolving out of the other. When it comes to identifying the “unknown source” of the various versions of the *Laozi* mentioned earlier, Xing Wen also favours this theory.⁵⁸

2.2.6 Implications for the TYSS Material

Now that I have introduced various scholars’ opinions regarding the Guodian *Laozi*, and how their cultural bias plays a role in their conclusions, I can explore the nature of the TYSS material. Are there clear lines of cultural bias separating the groups, as for the *Laozi*? Does the *Laozi* debate affect how researchers treat the TYSS?

Only a small amount of cultural bias lingers in the TYSS debate, with Chinese scholars a little more likely to insist upon the separation of the two texts, on the grounds that the received *Laozi* is correct, complete, and must be preserved. Any scholar claiming ‘there is no material in the Guodian *Laozi* which is not in the received version’ is stating that the TYSS material does not belong with the *Laozi*. Most scholars believe that the two ‘texts’ were meant to be together—at least in the Guodian edition. However, their opinions had more to do with the physical evidence than any philosophical evidence. In the following section, I will explain the physical evidence.

2.3 Archeological Evidence

While there appears to be no way to accurately and concretely determine the relevance of the TYSS at this juncture via philosophical analysis, the physical evidence can offer guidance. In the case of the Guodian *Laozi*, virtually every scholar has come to agree on the physical evidence, which indicates that the two ‘texts’ were purposefully bundled together, and therefore meant to be studied together. In order to understand how they came to that conclusion, the archeological methods they employed must be reviewed.

⁵⁸ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 146.

The way the collators of the *Guodian chumu zhujian* determined that the Guodian *Laozi* consisted of three bundles was to look at the physical characteristics of the strips, such as the length of the strips, the distance between notches (marks indicating where the bindings would have been), and the general shape of the strips, especially the shape of the ends of the strips. The collators also looked at the script type, the writing style (e.g. of a particular scribe training school), differences in handwriting (of individual scribes), variations in character usage (e.g. word choice and observance of taboos), and punctuation marks.⁵⁹ Finally, they also looked at content—that is, the ideas and phrases the strips actually expressed. Through these methods they determined the following.

The *Laozi A* is a bundle of 39 slips. Each strip is 32.3cm long. The marks indicating the location of the two string bindings are 13cm apart. The two ends of each strip are beveled.⁶⁰ The script type is “Warring States brush-written Chu-script” and the writing style is “elaborate, regular, controlled.”⁶¹ The handwriting on the strips is generally small and the characters written close together. According to Matthias Richter, two of the strips in the *Laozi A* (strips 5 and 6) are written in a different hand from the rest, marked by larger, more elaborate characters. Due to the flow of the content, however, he believes the two strips are meant to be included in the *Laozi A*. He suggests that perhaps the hand changed because those two strips had to be replaced (due to errors or damage) or that the scribe was replaced for a short while by someone else.⁶² Even

⁵⁹ For further details regarding the punctuation marks, see Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 135–137.

⁶⁰ See Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 33–34 and Henricks, *Lao Tzu's Tao Te Ching*, 6–8.

⁶¹ Richter, Matthias, “Tentative Criteria for Discerning Individual Hands in the Guodian Manuscripts,” in *Rethinking Confucianism: Selected Papers from the Third International Conference on Excavated Manuscripts, Mount Holyoke College, April 2004*, ed. Xing Wen. (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2006), 5–6. This writing style is found only in the three *Laozi* bundles, and sets them apart from the other sets of bundles in the tomb, which contain other styles.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 10–16. In his paper, Richter admits that the techniques of handwriting analysis were initially developed for analyzing alphabetic script, and are far from perfectly adapted to the analysis of Chinese characters. Also, the various types of handwriting analysis were developed to suit various purposes, for example, psychological

taking into account the possibility of two hands in the *Laozi* A, the handwriting of the *Laozi* A is markedly different than that of the *Laozi* B or C.

The *Laozi* B is a bundle of 18 slips. Each strip is 30.6cm long. The marks indicating the location of the two string bindings are also 13cm apart. The two ends of each strip are flat and squared.⁶³ The script type, like the *Laozi* A, is “Warring States brush-written Chu-script” and the writing style, like the *Laozi* A, is “elaborate, regular, controlled.”⁶⁴ The handwriting of the *Laozi* B, however, is large and the characters are spaced farther apart than in the *Laozi* A. The handwriting is consistent throughout, suggesting it was written by a single scribe.

The *Laozi* C is a bundle of 28 slips. Each strip is 26.5cm long. The marks indicating the location of the two string bindings are 10.8cm apart. The strips have flat, squared ends.⁶⁵ The script type, like the *Laozi* A and B, is “Warring States brush-written Chu-script” and the writing style, like the *Laozi* A and B, is “elaborate, regular, controlled.”⁶⁶ The handwriting is uniform throughout, suggesting it was written by a single scribe. According to Peng Hao, the *Laozi* C was written by a single scribe, and not the same scribe that copied either *Laozi* A or B.⁶⁷ However, when one looks to content, one sees that 14 strips have material from the received *Laozi* and 14 strips have material not found in the received *Laozi*. Due to this difference in content, this last bundle was separated out from the rest and subtitled the TYSS.⁶⁸ However, there is no reason to believe that these strips were meant to be separated out from the rest of the

evaluation, which may or may not correlate with the conditions of early Chinese writing or scribe training. Although still applicable to a useful degree, there is still much work to be done in this area. Ibid, 7–9.

⁶³ See Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 33–34 and Henricks, *Lao Tzu's Tao Te Ching*, 6–8.

⁶⁴ Mattias Richter. “Tentative Criteria for Discerning Individual Hands in the Guodian Manuscripts,” 5–6.

⁶⁵ See Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 33–34 and Henricks, *Lao Tzu's Tao Te Ching*, 6–8.

⁶⁶ Mattias Richter. “Tentative Criteria for Discerning Individual Hands in the Guodian Manuscripts,” 5–6.

⁶⁷ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 133–134.

⁶⁸ See Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 33–34 and Henricks, *Lao Tzu's Tao Te Ching*, 6–8.

bundle. As a member of the editorial board working on the *Guodian Chu Mu Zhujian*⁶⁹, Peng Hao explained that “the separation [of the *Laozi* C and *Tai Yi Sheng Shui* slips] into two texts in *Guodian Chu Mu Zhujian* is based entirely upon content. The editorial principle in writing the transcriptions was that, when in doubt, divide the text into smaller rather than larger units, for ease of analysis.”⁷⁰ William Boltz puts it rather plainly: “Except for the fact that these Tay I sheng shoei texts are not found in the transmitted Laotzyy, there is no reason not to place them together with the fourteen strips of the C “Laotzyy” text and treat the whole as a twenty-eight-strip single manuscript document.”⁷¹

3 The Guodian *Laozi* in Context

The following section will attempt to put the Guodian *Laozi* in its historical, philosophical, and political context, in order to gain insight into the reason it was assembled the way that it was, as well as possible insight into the reason the Guodian collection may have been assembled as a set. First of all, it is important to determine the historical timeframe of the material. In the first half of this section, I will introduce both archeological evidence and the philosophical arguments for dating the Guodian *Laozi* to a certain period. Next, using those dates, I will explain the historical events occurring at that time, and the implications of the Guodian *Laozi* having being written for a particular prince in those particular times. In the second half of this section, I will investigate the themes of the Guodian *Laozi*, to see if the way the text was written/assembled fits my theories. A thematic analysis of the Guodian *Laozi* will be followed by a thematic analysis of the Guodian collection as a whole, to see if my theory holds up for the entire set of texts found in the Guodian tomb.

⁶⁹ Jingmenshi Bowuguan 荊門市博物館 (Jingmen Museum), *Guodian Chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡 (*The Bamboo Slips from the Chu Tomb at Guodian*) was the first publication of the strips, including photographs and transcriptions. Most scholars use this book as the basis of their work.

⁷⁰ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 143.

⁷¹ Boltz, “The Fourth-Century B. C. Guodiann Manuscripts from Chu and the Composition of the Laotzyy,” 595.

3.1 Dating the Material

While most scholars agree that the TYSS material was purposefully bound together with the Guodian *Laozi* Part C, not all of them believe that the two texts belong together in any other place or time. If the material could be dated, it would be a great boon in determining its origin and relevance. Unfortunately, there was no date marked on the tomb or any of its contents. The name of the tomb occupant was also not indicated anywhere, which could have helped in narrowing down the timeline. Normally, almanacs, divinatory material, or other records that contain dates are found in such tombs; however, all of the texts in the Guodian tomb were of a philosophical nature, and so did not contain dates.

Fortunately, archeologists can ascertain a tentative ‘latest possible’ dating by comparing the tomb construction materials, layout, style, and contents to other tombs for which the dates are known. The *latest* the texts in the tomb could have been written or copied was the date of the closure of the tomb, which would at least give a cut-off date for their possible inscription. It would not give a precise dating, however, because the texts could have (and likely were) written years—even decades—prior to the sealing of the tomb. Fortunately, an examination of the way key terms were used both in the text and throughout history can be used to make a guess as to the most likely era of the text. I chose the key term ‘*Taiyi*’ 太一, and examined its use from the earliest textual reference until the Han 漢 era. This examination offers a timeline for the latest date the text would likely have been inscribed, and supports the conclusions drawn by the archeological evidence.

3.1.1 Archeological Evidence

Li Boqian explains that the contents of the tomb, including pottery, bronzes, lacquer work, and jades, were in styles typical of the middle Warring States period. He also indicates which

items, including *he* 盒 and *ding* 鼎 pottery, a lacquer box and cup, a bronze mirror and pan, and a wooden comb were “very similar” to other Chu tombs for which the closure dates are known.⁷² Liu Zuxin explains that the construction methods and materials were common for Chu tombs. He claims that the type of coffin and the way it was arranged was “unique to Chu culture.”⁷³ He also commented on the contents of the tomb, including the pottery, bronzes, mirror, lacquer cups, saying that several of them were virtually identical to items found in other tombs. He went on to comment on a few other items not mentioned by Li Boqian, including chariot parts, weapons, and walking staffs, which were similar to items found in other Chu tombs. Like Li Boqian, Liu Zuxin comes to the conclusion that the ‘Guodian Tomb No. One’ is a mid-Warring States tomb, and dates the burial around 300 BCE.⁷⁴ While both scholars noted that the bamboo strips in the tomb appeared to be written in Chu script, they included no other textual examination when determining the timeline for the tomb—and there was no need to. Some of the tombs they used for comparison contained both precise dates and reign periods, and/or were of a type that only existed for short periods of time. For example, the tomb which contained the virtually identical bronze mirror was of a type that only lasted from 323–316 BCE.⁷⁵ By analyzing these dates, scholars agreed the tomb was likely sealed before 300 BCE, with the latest possible date it could have been sealed being 278 BCE, when the Qin 秦 occupied Ying 郢. Tombs after that date show elements of Qin culture not present in the Guodian tomb. Therefore, the tomb must have been sealed sometime in the period of 323–278 BCE, and was most likely sealed between 323–300 BCE.

⁷² For example, the Baoshan ‘Tomb Number 2,’ dated 323–316 BCE. Li Boqian. “A Brief Account of the Origins and Development of Chu Culture,” *The Guodian Laozi*, 18.

⁷³ Liu Zuqin. “An Overview of Tomb Number One at Jingmen Guodian,” *The Guodian Laozi*, 30.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 31.

⁷⁵ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 119.

This narrow date range gives us the *latest* the texts could have been written, but in no way indicates the *earliest* they could have been written. The Guodian *Laozi* material appears to be copied by scribes, and not by the original author: based on the number of basic mistakes found in the characters, Qiu Xigui concludes that the scribes were not highly educated or skilled professionals.⁷⁶ This indicates to me that the material was in existence (in some form) before the Guodian edition. Again, to say the material existed ‘before’ this edition does not tell us ‘how long before.’ While some texts may be copied for the express purpose of becoming a burial offering, it seems unlikely to me that someone would be buried with a complete set of philosophy texts with which they were unfamiliar. It is more likely that the set was representative of the philosophy the tomb occupant adhered to, and that at least some of the texts were in his private collection for many years. It is even likely that some of these texts had been passed down to him from his teacher(s) or previous generations of his family. Although the early limits of the texts cannot be pinpointed through archeological evidence, their contents may yield some important information.

3.1.2 Philosophical Arguments

It has already been made clear that the Guodian set as a whole conformed to no single known ‘school,’ however, there could still be clues contained within the philosophy of the various texts which could help us narrow down the timeline for the material. In the case of the *Laozi*, the previously unseen TYSS material seems the most promising.

There is no real agreement among scholars as to whether the *Laozi* or the TYSS material emerged first and which may have influenced the other. Cui Renyi believes that the TYSS emerged before the *Laozi*, and lists Chapter R42 of the *Laozi* (“The Way/Dao gave birth to the One, the One gave birth to the Two, the Two gave birth to the Three, and the Three gave birth to

⁷⁶ Ibid, 134.

the Ten Thousand Things.”) as being based on the cosmology in the TYSS. However, other scholars, like Li Xueqin, believe the opposite: that the TYSS must have developed after the *Laozi*, due to the fact that while one can find *Dao* 道 in the TYSS, one does not find the term *Taiyi* 太一 in the *Laozi*. Yet other scholars, like Isabelle Robinet, believe that the two texts should be considered separately, as two completely separate cosmologies, since in the *Laozi*, things are “born” of each other in succession, whereas in the TYSS, things “return to assist” *Taiyi* 太一 in producing new things.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, Isabelle Robinet is certain that the cosmology of the TYSS is Daoist: she, like others, refers to the “Da Yue” 大樂 chapter in the *Lushi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, as well as the “Xici” 西祠 section of the *Zhou Yi* 周易 as revealing similar themes. However, she points out that in these texts, the world comes into being through the process of *division*, i.e. *Taiyi* 太一 divides into two principles, then into four divisions. In other places, like in the *Zhou Yi Weishu* 周易緯書, the *Liezi* 列子, and the *Xiaojing Weishu* 孝經緯書 (*Classic of Filial Piety*), the world comes into being through the process of *transformation*, i.e. *Taiyi* 太易 (not 太一, but arguably another name for the same entity) transforms into *Taichu* 太出, then into *Taishi* 太始, then into *Taisu* 太素, then finally into *Taiji* 太極.⁷⁸ None of these texts refer to an incarnation *returning to assist* the previous incarnation, as does the TYSS. Thus, although similar, it is not the exact same cosmology as in the *Laozi*. Roger Ames offers that although the TYSS “is not an integral part of the *Laozi* at this point in its evolution, it is at the very least an explanatory commentary on a revised and improved version of chapter 64.”⁷⁹ He and Isabelle Robinet agree that the TYSS is

⁷⁷ Henricks, *Lao Tzu's Tao Te Ching*, 124–125.

⁷⁸ Allan and Williams, *The Guodian Laozi*, 165–166.

⁷⁹ Roger T. Ames and David L. Hall, *Daodejing Making This Life Significant: A Philosophical Translation* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2003), 226.

the earliest existing Daoist cosmology, one which sheds light on references in the *Laozi*, especially chapters R25, R39, R42, R51, and R52.

Liu Zuxin disagrees with Isabelle Robinet and Roger Ames, stating that the TYSS is not necessarily a Daoist document. He points to the fact that many schools of thought in the Warring States period used the idea of *shenming* 神明, and that term could be found in many books of the era, including the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, the *Hanfeizi* 韓非子, the *Zuo Zhuan* 左傳, the *Xunzi* 荀子, the *Su Wen* 素問, the *Yi Zhuan* 易傳, the *Xiao Jing* 孝經, the *Shiji* 史記, and the *Wenzi* 文子. He continues that while the term *Taiyi* appears (in various forms) in such texts as the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the *Xunzi*, the *Liji*, and the *Zhuangzi*, the *Laozi* does not contain a clear-cut reference to the concept of *Taiyi* as it is represented in these texts. The *only* argument one could make is if one read *Dayi* ‘大一’ for *Taiyi* ‘太一’ in the *Laozi*’s reference to the *Dao* 道. However, he concludes that the concept of *Taiyi* is a degree of abstraction away from—and inferior to—the *Laozi*’s concept of the *Dao* 道, and places (as does Asano Yuuichi) *Taiyi* as a concept whose origin predated the Warring States.⁸⁰

Feng Shi offers an alternative view to both Isabelle Robinet and Liu Zuxin: he believes TYSS belongs to the cosmology of the *Wu Xing* 五行, which was found in both the Guodian and Mawangdui tombs. In the Mawangdui tomb, the *Wu Xing* 五行 was printed on the same piece of silk as the *Laozi*, suggesting a previously unknown link between the two texts. The fact that the *Wu Xing* 五行 was found with the *Laozi* again at Guodian (although not bound together) seems

⁸⁰ Liu Zuxin 劉祖信, “‘*Taiyishengshui*’ *qianyi* 『太一生水』淺議” (“A Brief/Superficial Discussion about ‘*Taiyi sheng shui*’,” in *Xinchu jianbo yanjiu: xinchu jianbo guoji xueshu yantaohui wenji 2000 nian 8 yue Beijing* 新出簡帛研究：新出簡帛國際學術研討會文集 2000 年 8 月北京 (*Studies on Recently Discovered Chinese Manuscripts: Proceedings of International Conference on Recently Discovered Chinese Manuscripts, August 2000, Beijing*), ed. Sarah Allan and Xing Wen (Beijing 北京 Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe Chuban faxing 文物出版社出版發行 Wenwu Publishing House, 2004), 254–256.

to confirm that they were indeed studied together. Xing Wen and Chen Guying agree that these two texts appear to be related for these reasons, and that both texts discuss *Tian Dao* 天道 and *De* 德.⁸¹ Feng Shi believes the cosmology of the TYSS could be the key to their association, and the ideological link between the earlier Five Element Theory and the later concept of *wu* 無 and *you* 有 seen in the *Laozi*. Feng Shi makes a decent argument that *Taiyi* 太一 was another way of writing *Tianyi* 天一. He quotes the *Shiji*: “北極，天一，太一。” (“*Beiji* [is the same as] *tianyi* [is the same as] *taiyi*.”) and the Zheng Xuan commentary to the *Yijing*: “太一者，北辰之神名也。曰天一，或太一。” (“[As for] *Taiyi*, [it is] the name of the Spirit of the North Pole. [It is] called *Tianyi* or *Taiyi*.”) He also notes that in 2608 BCE, the *Tianyi* 天一 star was very close to the true North Pole, as was the *Taiyi* 太一 star in 2263 BCE, which led to the eventual conflation of their names and identities.⁸² He then states that according to the ancient Chinese numerical system in the *Yijing*, ‘天’ simply refers to being ‘first,’ in a system that lists “天一，地二，天散，地四...” etc. with *Tian* being odd numbers, and *Di* being even numbers. Therefore, when it comes to ‘天一,’ the emphasis is on ‘一,’ not ‘天.’ He concludes that the text of the TYSS should be read “天一生水,” which in essence means “一生水.” This new reading would also have the bonus of matching the convention of the *Wu Xing*. As his evidence, Feng Shi quotes the *Liji*: “天地之數五十有五。天一生水於北，地二生火於南，天三生木於東，地四生金於西，天五生地於中。” (“Heaven and Earth’s numbers amount to 55. First, water emerges from the

⁸¹ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 177.

⁸² Feng Shi 馮時, “‘*Taiyishengshui*’ *sixiang de shumu jichu*” 『太一生水』思想的数学基础 (The Number Method Foundation of the *Taiyi sheng shui*’s Ideology”) in *Xinchu jianbo yanjiu: xinchu jianbo guoji xueshu yantaohui wenji 2000 nian 8 yue Beijing* 新出簡帛研究：新出簡帛國際學術研討會文集 2000 年 8 月北京 (*Studies on Recently Discovered Chinese Manuscripts: Proceedings of International Conference on Recently Discovered Chinese Manuscripts, August 2000, Beijing*), 251. The *Shiji* quote is from 史記索隱·樂汁征圖 and the *Yijing* quote is from Zheng Xuan’s commentary 易緯乾鑿度注. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 was an influential commentator in the Han Dynasty (127–200 CE).

North; second, fire emerges from the South; third, wood emerges from the East; fourth, metal emerges from the West; fifth, earth emerges from the centre.”⁸³ The fact that water comes first in the cosmology also matches the cosmology of the *Wu Xing*, since water is seen as the root and source of all other life. He also makes reference to the cosmology of the *Ba Gua* (八卦) and the “Luo Book of Nine Palaces” (洛書九宮) in the *Yi Jing* as also being a perfect match. According to Feng Shi, who again draws on Han Dynasty commentator Zheng Xuan, the line of the TYSS referring to *Taiyi* being “stored in water and moving in the four seasons” is actually referring to the eight directions of the palaces plus the centre position, as well as the eight trigrams of the *Ba Gua* 八卦 system, in which ‘nine’ represents the complete form.⁸⁴

While Li Xueqin appears to agree with Feng Shi that the TYSS was heavily influenced by the number system, Liu Wenying claims that in actuality, the whole situation should be reversed. He claims the TYSS was written in the Warring States era, and the books referring to *Taiyi* the star only appeared in the Western Han. The idea that *Taiyi* dwelled in the position of the origin of the universe, or the consequent link to *Tiandi* 天地 did not yet exist at the time of the TYSS. Therefore it is not possible that it would refer to the *Taiyi* star, the North Pole star, or the ‘spirit’ of said stars. Rather, the *Taiyi* of the bamboo text *Laozi* refers to the idea that the *Dao* 道 is called ‘the One’ or the ‘Great One,’ as it does in the Mawangdui *Shiliu Jing* 十六經, the *Lulan* 呂覽, and the *Zhuangzi* 莊子.⁸⁵ Li Ling believes that *Taiyi* is indeed an “astronomical marker,” and in contrast to Li Xueqin, claims that ideas of *Taiyi* as the *Dao* only appeared in the

⁸³ Ibid, 252. The *Liji* quote is also from Zheng Xuan’s commentary 禮記正義. All the English translations are my own.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 252–253.

⁸⁵ Liu Wenying 劉文英. “Guanyu Taiyishengshui de jige wenti zhaiyao” 關於太一生水的幾個問題(摘要) “Regarding Several Issues in the *Taiyi sheng shui* (a summary),” in *Xinchu jianbo yanjiu: xinchu jianbo guoji xheshu yantaohui wenji 2000 nian 8 yue Beijing* 新出簡帛研究：新出簡帛國際學術研討會文集 2000 年 8 月北京 (*Studies on Recently Discovered Chinese Manuscripts: Proceedings of International Conference on Recently Discovered Chinese Manuscripts, August 2000, Beijing*), 271.

Han, not before.⁸⁶ He believes that the text TYSS is related to the Song period illustrations called *Taiji tu* 太極圖 and is graphically represented in the Mawangdui's "Bibing Tu" 避兵圖. These drawings are used as shields to repel demons, and as such, the function of the TYSS could also be the same.⁸⁷

Clearly, there is no agreement among scholars as to the origin of the TYSS material, however, their discussion indicated to me that *Taiyi* 太一 as a concept could indeed hold a key to dating the Guodian *Laozi* material. Therefore, I traced the use of the term *Taiyi* 太一 from earliest times through to the beginning of the Han dynasty to see if a pattern would emerge.

The term *Taiyi* 太一 appears in several other Pre-Qin texts: the Confucian *Liji* 禮記, *Yili* 儀禮, the Daoist *Zhuangzi* 莊子, the Confucian *Xunzi* 荀子, the Legalist *Han Feizi* 韓非子, the *Lushi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, and the poetic *Chuci* 楚辭, which includes material from the pre-Qin, Qin, and Han Dynasties, as well as some Han Dynasty texts: the Confucian *Shiji* 史記, the Syncretic *Huainanzi* 淮南子, the Daoist *Wenzi* 文子, and the Confucian *Da Dai Liji* 大戴禮記.⁸⁸ It even appears much later, in the *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書⁸⁹, but due to time and length constraints, I will only include the Pre-Qin texts, and the *Chuci* 楚辭. I believe that the examination of the use of *Taiyi* 太一 in these texts could yield some clues as to its identity or meaning. Other terms, such as *Taiyi* 太易, *Taiyi* 太乙, *Taiyi* 泰一, *Dayi* 大一 and *Tianyi* 天一, also appear in various Pre-Qin texts, and are likely just graphic variants for the same concept or entity as *Taiyi* 太一,

⁸⁶ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 163.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 126 and 163–165. Also see: Li Ling, "An Archeological Study of Taiyi (Grand One) Worship" Donald Harper, trans, *Early Medieval China* 2 (1995–96): 1–39 and "Mawangdui Han Mu Shenqi Tu Yingshu Bibing Tu" *Kaogu* 10 (1991): 940–942.

⁸⁸ I did my search for *Taiyi* 太一 in the Gugong Concordances <http://210.69.170.100/s25>, and supplemented it with the full-text searchable database of Chinese texts found on Donald Sturgeon's Chinese Text Project <http://chinese.dsturgeon.net>

⁸⁹ The *Hou Han Shu* records the history of Eastern Han from 25 CE to 220 CE. It was written by Fan Ye in the 5th century CE (although it also refers to many earlier histories and documents).

not different lexical items. However, again due to length restrictions, I will limit my investigation to *Taiyi* 太一 and *Dayi* 大一. For transcriptions of the following excerpts in Chinese with my own English translations, please see “Section 7 Annotated Translations.”

First and foremost, I will determine how the term *Taiyi* 太一 is used in the Guodian bamboo text TYSS. Then I will proceed to compare its use and meaning to the other Pre-Qin texts. The TYSS material can be easily grouped into four sections: Slips 1–8, Slip 9, Slips 10–12, and Slips 13–14. As previously mentioned, the first eight strips describe a cosmology. Slips 10–12 discuss the name and designation of the *Dao* 道. Slips 9 and 13–14 are quite fragmentary, but appear to discuss the legend of Gong Gong 共工, who vied for rulership in the period of Yao 堯 and ultimately lost to Zhuan Xu 顓頊.⁹⁰ This last passage is difficult to understand, however, the Commentary of the *Guodian Chumu zhujian* (126) helps quite a bit in citing the myth recorded in 3/1a–b of the *Huainanzi*:

昔者共工與顓頊爭為帝，怒而觸不周之由，天柱折，地維絕。天傾西北，故日月星辰移焉；地不滿東南，故水潦塵埃歸焉。

Long ago [in the time of Yao 堯 (Allan, 57 & 175)], when Gong Gong 共工 contested with Zhuan Xu 顓頊 to become *Di* 帝 [and lost], he became angry [with his failure] and butted [the legendary] Bu Zhou Mountain 不周山 [in the northwest corner of the earth, which acts as one of the eight pillars of heaven (Allan, 61 & 104–105), and is supposed to be northwest of the Kunlun 崑崙

⁹⁰ Zhuan Xu 顓頊 was a legendary ruler, the grandson of the Yellow Emperor, and said to be one of the Three August Ones and Five Emperors (*sanhuang wudi* 三皇五帝). In various tales he is also referred to as Zhurong 祝融, Shennong 神農, and Gaoyang 高陽 (who invented the calendar, and reigned for 13 years when the calendar commenced in 2287 BCE). Thompson-Price, Nancy, ed. *Early China*, Volumes 9-10, Berkeley: University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies, 1983–85), 175–183. According to Anne Birrell, there are actually three distinct Gong Gong myths: (1) Gong Gong as the angry and destructive usurper who smashed the pillar of in the *Chuci*, (2) Gong Gong as related to floods—in the *Huainanzi* Gong Gong causes a great flood, and in the *Guanzi* Gong Gong is referred to as the ruler previous to the Yellow Emperor, Yao, and Shun, whose land was 70% occupied with water, (3) Gong Gong as a selfish Dionysus—in the *Discourses of Zhou* chapter “Discourses of the States,” Gong Gong is described as licentious and hedonistic, whose fate was sealed due to his desire to dam the rivers and destroy the world. Anne Birrell, *Chinese Myth and Culture*. (Cambridge: McGuinness China Monographs, 2006), 56–61. Out of these three, the *Taiyishengshui* appears to relate to the first only.

range in southern Xinjiang 新疆], breaking the pillar of heaven and severing Earth's cord. Heaven inclined in the northwest, so the sun and moon, stars and constellations move in that direction. Earth did not fill up in the southeast, so the water and dust turn towards there.⁹¹

It appears this passage is referring to a contest for rulership, where Gong Gong challenged Zhuan Xu's right to rule. Gong Gong used violence, and lost the challenge. Interestingly, Li Boqian says that the Chu people were direct descendants of Jilian, who was himself a descendant of Zhuan Xu.⁹² Sarah Allan adds that the Gong Gong is referred to in the "Tian Wen" 天問 chapter of the *Chuci* 楚辭: "When Kang Hui 康回 [Gong Gong 共工] was greatly angered, why did the earth incline in the southeast? How were the nine states divided and why were the river valleys made deep?"⁹³ While searching for instances of *Taiyi* 太一, I found another interesting reference in the same chapter: "How are the Ladle's Handle and the Cord tied together? How was Heaven's Pole raised? How do the Eight Pillars of Heaven keep it up? Why is there a gap in the south-east?" David Hawkes footnotes that "The Ladle's Handle, the Cord, and the Pole are constellations. Heaven seems to be conceived of here as a sort of tent sustained by a central pole. The Pillars of Heaven are the eight mountains which hold up the sky. The demon Kung Kung [Gong Gong] butted against the north-west one, causing the earth to tilt up and the sky to fall in the region, with the result that in the south-east the pillars no longer touched the sky."⁹⁴ What we

⁹¹ My own edits in square brackets have been added to: Sarah Allan, trans., *The Shape of the Turtle* (New York: State University of New York, 1991.), 68. Allan cites D. C. Lau and Chen Fong Ching, *A Concordance to the Huainanzi*. (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, Institute of Chinese Studies Ancient Chinese Texts Concordance Series, 1992), 3/18/25–6 (3 *Tianwenxun* 天問訓). For further related quotations, see Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久, ed., *Kakuten Sokan no shisoshiteki kenkyu* 郭店楚簡思想史の研究: 1. (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku bungakubu Chagoku shiso bunkagaku kenkyashitsu, 1999), 60–61. According to *The Shape of the Turtle*, a Han legend has Nüwa cutting off the legs of a giant tortoise and using them to replace the fallen pillar and alleviate the situation. She sealed the broken sky using stones of seven different colors, but she was unable to fully correct the tilted sky. That is why the sun, moon, and stars move towards the northwest, and rivers in China flow southeast into the Pacific Ocean. Ibid, 104.

⁹² He indicates where to find the genealogies, as well as a little history. Allan and Williams, *The Guodian Laozi*, 9.

⁹³ Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, 68 & 105.

⁹⁴ David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u*, 47.

can take from this is that while *Taiyi* 太一 does not explicitly appear in this section of the TYSS, it is definitely related to the (fragmentary) content present in these strips.

The term *Taiyi* 太一 only appears explicitly in the first section—the cosmology. In this passage, *Taiyi* appears to be referencing some kind of creative force, which appears before all other forms of creation. The wording is quite reminiscent of Chapter 25 of the received *Laozi*.⁹⁵ It is important to note here that whereas most translators have chosen to leave the *Laozi* character for ‘great’ as *da* 大, the *da* 大 in the TYSS passage has been converted to *tai* 太. *Da* 大 and *tai* 太 carry the same meaning, and are often interchangeable in early Chinese texts. The similarities to that particular passage of the *Laozi* are not limited to that one character. The TYSS does move on to reference *Taiyi* as “the mother of the ten thousand things,” and then proceeds to wonder about the name and designation of the *Dao* 道. However, in contrast to the cosmology of the *Laozi*, where “The Way gave birth to the One; The One gave birth to the Two; The Two gave birth to the Three; And The Three gave birth to the ten thousand things,”⁹⁶ the *Taiyi* generates Water, which then returns to assist *Taiyi* in creating Heaven, which also then returns to assist *Taiyi* in generating Earth, and so on, down the line. *Taiyi* is also “stored/concealed in water, and moves in the [four] seasons,” it moves in a circuit, over and under, around and around. Finally, *Taiyi* becomes the *jing* 經 ‘warp’ or stringed framework of the loom on which the pattern or ‘weft’ can be woven.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Chapter 25: “There was something formed out of chaos that was born before Heaven and Earth. Quiet and still! Pure and deep! It stands on its own and doesn’t change. It can be regarded as the mother of Heaven and Earth. I do not yet know its name: I ‘style’ it ‘The Way.’ Were I forced to give it a name, I would call it ‘the Great (大).’”
Henricks, *Lao-tzu Te-Tao Ching*, 77.

⁹⁶ Chapter 42. Ibid, 11.

⁹⁷ In weaving, the warp is the set of fixed parallel yarns through which the weft is woven. When weaving with a loom, the warp yarns are fully attached before weaving begins. The fixed and stable warp provides the ‘framework,’ and the weft, once woven repeatedly over and under the warp strings, makes the ‘pattern’ and completely hides the warp strings.

Now that an image of *Taiyi* has been created in the TYSS, it can be compared to other instances of it found in other texts. The arguably oldest mentions of *Taiyi* are in two of Confucius' three Classics of Ritual, which lay out some three thousand rules and rites.⁹⁸ Traditionally, these texts were attributed to Confucius, and considered 'lost' in the Warring States book burnings. While some versions of the text reportedly survived, the evidence that these versions are authentic is quite tenuous. Therefore, the current versions of these texts should be considered edited and re-worked versions, written by various scholars in the Han Dynasty. Therefore, it is very possible that the references to *Taiyi* were altered from what the original texts may (or may not) have said. In considering the following examples, it would be prudent to keep both eras in mind, to see if the interpretation changes. As in the *Laozi*, *Taiyi* 太一 was left as *Da yi* 大一 by the editors of these texts. The *Yili* 儀禮 is the shortest of the three texts and it describes how 'Confucian' scholar-officials (*shi* 士) could serve as models for the rest of society. The excerpt in question is *Yili* 儀禮 Chapter 8: "Pin Li 聘禮" (Note 6)—a note about betrothal gifts. The meaning of *Taiyi* is not clear in this passage, as it is used as some kind of lid for a gift box. Perhaps it is a metaphorical use of the term. In any case, we can certainly see that *Taiyi* has a link to ritual. Perhaps the excerpt from the *Liji* 禮記, Chapter 9 "Li Yun 禮運," will help shed light on the matter. The *Liji* 禮記, also known as the *Rites Records*, generally offers more concrete applications of the Rites, explains "secondary traditions," and compares and contrasts various historical ceremonial practices.⁹⁹ While Chapter 9 passage of the *Liji* 禮記 does little to explain the *Yili* 儀禮 quote, in this passage of the *Liji* 禮記, *Taiyi* is connected to the

⁹⁸ The three books of Rites are: the *Yili* 儀禮, the *Liji* 禮記, and the *Zhouli* 周禮. Michael Nylan, *The Five "Confucian" Classics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 8. Neither *Taiyi* (太一) nor *Dayi* (大一) appear in the *Zhouli*.

⁹⁹ Nylan, *The Five Confucian Classics*, 185.

generation of Heaven, Earth, *yin* and *yang*, the four seasons, and additionally to the ghosts and spirits. Except for the glaring omission of Water, these are the first five elements produced in the cosmology of the TYSS—albeit not quite in exactly the same order or by precisely the same method. Here, as in the TYSS, *Taiyi* is seen as some kind of abstract foundational entity that can generate other entities through re-arranging itself. The difference seems to be that in contrast to the TYSS, the *Taiyi* 太一 of the *Liji* 禮記 does not seem to require any ‘assistance’ from the other entities to keep on manipulating itself into other forms.

Taiyi 太一 is also mentioned in the last chapters of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, the so-called ‘Syncretic’ Miscellaneous chapters 32 and 33, “Lie Yu Kou 列禦寇” and “Tian Xia 天下.” While these chapters may indeed prove to be a product of a school of ‘Syncretists,’ there may be an even simpler explanation as to why the theories of so many different schools are mentioned together. According to Burton Watson, Chinese editors tended to place certain types of information in the last chapters of a book, for example the book summary, the author’s biographical details, and the author’s purpose, if known.¹⁰⁰ Chapters 32 and 33, the closing chapters of the text, do contain both an account of Zhuangzi’s death and a survey of the state of philosophy at that time. It could be that these chapters were fulfilling that traditional function. “Lie Yu Kou” 列禦寇 only describes *Taiyi* as simultaneously having both form and emptiness, and lists it as something humans try to benefit, like the *Dao*. “Tian Xia 天下” is the first passage where Lao Dan is explicitly mentioned alongside *Taiyi* (along with the pass-keeper Guan Yin), linking the *Taiyi* to the *Laozi*. In the *Zhuangzi*, *Taiyi* is listed as one of the tools of these legendary Daoists, a tool which managed or directed the Way. In this passage as well, *Taiyi* was considered to simultaneously have form and be formless. In both passages, *Taiyi* and *Dao* are

¹⁰⁰ Watson, Burton, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 15–16.

also listed as two separate things, and so perhaps were not seen as synonymous. It is possible that in “Tian Xia 天下” *Taiyi* was perceived as the ultimate “root” or source, which is “pure,” but it is by no means clear. Later on in “Tian Xia 天下,” *Taiyi* 太一 (as *Dayi* 大一) is mentioned in relation to the ‘Logician’ Hui Shi. Immediately striking is the fact that the *Zhuangzi* uses both *Taiyi* and *Dayi*—in the very same chapter! Due to the nature of Hui Shi’s work,¹⁰¹ ‘Great Unity’ and ‘Small Unity’ could also possibly be read here as ‘Greatest Unit’ and ‘Smallest Unit’; however, then, it would not have much relation to the entity *Taiyi* mentioned anywhere else, and would simply be a way to measure or count. There is a case to be made for this reading, however, since this chapter does describe the various philosophies of the Warring States, and the Logicians could have used the term *Taiyi* differently than the others. If indeed *Taiyi* is read as an entity in this passage, Hui Shi says there exists nothing bigger (or “Greater”) than *Taiyi*. Although it does not provide much additional information, it at least does not contradict previous descriptions of *Taiyi* as the unified source of creation. There is another instance of *Taiyi* (as *Dayi*) in Outer Chapter 24 of the *Zhuangzi*, “Xu Wu Gui” 徐無鬼, and here it appears to be referring back to the entity *Taiyi*, and not some scale of measurement. In this chapter, *Taiyi* is listed along with several other ‘Greats.’ It is mentioned as being the entity that can connect a person to the knowledge of Heaven. It is still in the place of the initiator; however, there is no mention of its generative properties, or of other cosmological elements.

Xunzi 荀子 was the next philosopher in the Warring States to use the term *Taiyi* 太一, although in his self-titled text, *Taiyi* 太一 again appears as *Dayi* 大一. Xunzi 荀子 (ca. 312–230 BCE) was a ‘Confucian’ who believed that only rigorous training in the Rites and Music could

¹⁰¹ This quote lists Hui Shi’s Ten Paradoxes, although I did not include them all here. For more about the Ten Paradoxes, see Fung Yu-lan, *A history of Chinese Philosophy vol 1: The Period of the Philosophers (from the Beginnings to circa 100 BC)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), starting 197.

allow a person to rise above the dispositions of their birth and become ‘Good.’¹⁰² The excerpts containing *Taiyi* are from the chapter “*Li Lun*” 禮論 or “A Discussion of the Rites.” In these passages, *Taiyi* appears to be referring to some kind of standard of excellence or goal state, which one “returns to” when Culture (through the Rites) is in its highest form. It appears that the Sage should ideally be like *Taiyi* 太一. Heaven and Earth, the sun and moon, the four seasons, the stars and celestial bodies, the rivers and the ten thousand things are all mentioned, but not as being generated by *Taiyi* 太一. Rather, in this passage, they are organized by Ritual. This does not mean that *Taiyi* 太一 necessarily did not generate them; it just does not offer any evidence either way.

Xunzi was the instructor of the ‘Legalist’ Han Feizi 韓非子 (ca. 280–233 BCE), who became a well-known philosopher in his own right. He believed that morality should be replaced by laws, and that the only way the people can be kept in line is by rewards and punishments. He postulated that the state should be given the ultimate power to determine ‘right’ and ‘wrong,’ based on its needs. Despite this stance, Han Feizi 韓非子 surprisingly accorded with some ‘Daoist’ ideas, namely that the Confucian ‘ways of the former kings’ should be rejected as models for society, that the people should abandon learning and knowledge, travel and politics, and simply ‘live’ under the ruler who needs do nothing (in the ‘Daoist’ case because he embodies *wuwei*, in the ‘Legalist’ case because no-one dare break the law).¹⁰³ He was vehemently against ‘Mohism,’ many aspects of ‘Confucianism,’ and all aspects of the divinatory arts. *Taiyi* appears only once in his self-titled text on governance, as part of a list of astrophysical bodies in “*Li Lun*” 禮論. This is a very different use of the term *Taiyi* than what

¹⁰² Burton Watson, *Xunzi: Basic Writings*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), ix–x.

¹⁰³ Arthur Waley, *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), 151–158.

has appeared in the previously-mentioned texts, where *Taiyi* was a formless, abstract, generating principle. Perhaps there were two general meanings of the term *Taiyi* in the Pre-Qin, or perhaps, since the *Han Feizi* 韓非子 was written slightly later than the other texts I investigated, the meaning of *Taiyi* was shifting as time passed. Another possibility is that Han Feizi was simply returning to the original use of the term, since his works are not metaphysical.

Leaving the Warring States Period and heading toward the Qin 秦, there are several references to *Taiyi* in the poems of the *Chuci* 楚辭 or *Songs of the South*. There is some debate as to when exactly the original collection poems were penned, however, when allowing for some discrepancies, it appears the core set of poems were written approximately “some three and a half centuries after the date of the later parts of the *Shih Ching* 詩經 (*Shijing*).”¹⁰⁴ To be more precise, about half of the poems have been attributed to Qu Yuan 屈原 (ca. 340 BCE–278 BCE) near the end of the Warring States period, and the other half were written by various poets in the 300 years after Qu Yuan’s death. This would make some of the older poems previous to the writings of both *Han Feizi* and *Xunzi*, and the rest of the poems subsequent to the *Han Feizi* 韓非子. Examining the use of *Taiyi* across this time span should show us if and how the conception of *Taiyi* shifted during these periods. It is important to note that the *Chuci* 楚辭 was not written as a cohesive collection, but was assembled as a set by Liu Xiang 劉向 around 77–6 BCE. The extant version *Chuci* was assembled by Wang Yi 王逸 (2nd century CE), who added a commentary and some of his own poems.

The earliest poem that mentions *Taiyi* is attributed to Qu Yuan: “Nine Songs 九歌: The Great Unity, God of the Eastern Sky 東皇太一.” In this poem, written around the time of

¹⁰⁴ David Hawkes, trans. *The Songs of the South: An Anthology of Ancient Chinese Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets* (London: Penguin Books, 1985), 1–2.

Zhuangzi, *Taiyi* is clearly referring to a either an anthropomorphic god, or a powerful emperor. He strokes his sword and clangs his jade beads, has a seat, and indulges in meat and music. There is little chance this *Taiyi* is the same entity referred to in the *Zhuangzi*, which was an entity considered to simultaneously have form and be formless, and something that can connect a person to the knowledge of Heaven. It also cannot be Xunzi's abstract 'standard of excellence.' However, it could possibly be proved to accord with Han Feizi's description of *Taiyi* as some kind of astrophysical body, *if* these stellar bodies were said to be the physical representation of gods.

In order to retain a chronological account of *Taiyi* in the corpus of early Chinese literature, I will introduce the instances of *Taiyi* in the *Lushi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 before proceeding to the later (Han 漢 era) poems of the *Chuci*. The *Lushi Chunqiu* or *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, was named after Lü Buwei 呂不韋, the prime minister of Qin 秦 under King Zhuangxiang 秦庄襄王. It was compiled about fifteen years before Qin unification. Lü Buwei had high aspirations for the Qin to rule a unified Chinese empire, which it was on the cusp of doing. In the "Postface" of his text, Lü Buwei explains that he "succeeded in studying what the Yellow Sovereign used to instruct the Zhuanxu Sovereign," meaning that his efforts were to produce a compendium of all essential wisdom, customs, and beliefs of the pre-Qin for the benefit of the ruler of the new Qin empire.¹⁰⁵

The first two excerpts of the *Lushi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 are from the section titled *Ji* 紀 or "The Almanacs" (Books 1–12), which dedicates one book to the proper workings of each of the twelve months of the year. The two excerpts are both from the same book and chapter, Book 5

¹⁰⁵ John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel. *The Annals of Lü Buwei: A Complete Translation and Study* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 1, 16, and 19.

Chapter 2: “Da Yue 大樂,” and are separated by a short discussion of what conditions are required before people are able to begin to talk about music. In these two sections mentioning *Taiyi* (2.1 and 2.4), *Taiyi* is associated with Heaven and Earth, the sun and moon, the stars and celestial bodies, the four seasons, *yin* and *yang*, hot and cold, dry and wet (the wind and the rain). This matches quite well with the associations from the TYSS. The first section, Chapter 2.1, says that the ten thousand things were created by *Taiyi*, and *Taiyi* appears to be fairly intimately linked with *yin* and *yang* throughout. The second section, Chapter 2.4, mentions that *Taiyi* does not actually have a form or a name. Moreover, the wording of this section, talking about the *Dao* and then “calling it *Taiyi*,” does not sound as much like the TYSS as the *Laozi*. It certainly seems possible that in this *Lushi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 excerpt, *Taiyi* is synonymous with *Dao*. The second half of this passage also advises the Sage King to employ *Taiyi* to rule his own body, the state, and the world. Like the *Xunzi*, the sage is encouraged to be like *Taiyi*. While Chapter 2.4 does not expound on *yin* and *yang* as does Chapter 2.1, it does contain two very interesting references. It tells how the early Sages rejected *yin* and *yang* in favor of *Taiyi*. Then it concludes with a very interesting line: “Therefore [if the Sage] understands the One, then [he will become] enlightened; [however, if he considers] the Two [to be] ‘enlightenment,’ then [he will go] mad.” This line tells of the primacy of *Taiyi* over *yin* and *yang*: any king who tries to use *yin* and *yang* to rule is simply deluded, and will not succeed in reaching enlightenment.

The next excerpt, Book 17’s Chapter 4.2 titled “Wu Gong 勿躬,” is from the *Lan* 覽 or “The Examinations” section of the *Lushi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Books 13–20). Each chapter of the *Lan* is divided into eight sections, so that the *Lan* in its entirety follows the pattern of the *Yijing* 易經 (64 hexagrams). Book 17 “combines chapters on ‘the Dao of the ruler’ with others that seem to represent teachings characteristic of the various branches of the legalist school” and

Chapter 4 in particular “instructs rulers not to interfere in the responsibilities of their subordinates.”¹⁰⁶ Chapter 4.2 also advises the Sage King to employ or join with *Taiyi* in order to rule both his own body and the state.

The last three *Chuci* 楚辭 poems are tentatively dated in the Han, far later than the other instances seen up to this point. *Taiyi* first appears in the *Chuci* in the poem “Xi Shi” 惜誓 (“Sorrow for Troth Betrayed”). The author and precise dating of this poem is unknown. However, since the themes are reminiscent of both Han Daoism and of the poem “Lament for Qu Yuan,” David Hawkes claims the author was likely a contemporary of Yan Zhi and Mei Cheng, poets for the Prince of Wu who left to serve in Liang when the court of Wu was facing rebellion in 154 BCE.¹⁰⁷ According to David Hawkes, this poem is quite fragmentary, with many lines missing; however, it will still serve my purpose well, as the lines surrounding the reference to *Taiyi* appear to be relatively intact. This is quite an exciting passage, as *Taiyi*’s carriage is described quite explicitly. The Azure Dragon is a star constellation, representing the East, and this passage tells us it is to the East of *Taiyi*. Continuing on that line of thought, it could now be possible to locate *Taiyi* in the Heavens. According to this poem, *Taiyi*’s chariot also has the constellation of the White Tiger (which represents the West) on its West side, the constellation of the Crimson Bird (which represents the South) in front of it and, if the character ‘蓋’ is taken as a play on both ‘canopy’ and ‘tortoise shell,’ possibly the constellation of the Black Tortoise (which represents the North) above it. This would place *Taiyi* (in a general sense) in the centre between the East and West, facing South, with North over its head. This certainly sounds like a description of the Pole Star. Since the Pole Star is also mentioned in this passage, it is entirely possible to read that *Taiyi* is simply another name for the Pole Star.

¹⁰⁶ John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel. *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, 404.

¹⁰⁷ David Hawkes, *Ch’u Tz’u: Songs of the South* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), 115 and 135.

The next poem, “The Nine Laments 九嘆: Yuan Shi 遠逝 (Going Far Away),” is by Liu Xiang himself, likely around the time he compiled the collection (77–6 BCE), and it again mentions the constellation of the Azure Dragon, along with several other astrophysical bodies. In this poem, it sounds like Liu Xiang is awaiting his judgment for something, but rather than face judgment by humans, he entreats the reader (or perhaps his ruler) to ask the various astrophysical bodies and gods to stand witness and leaven their testimony and judgment on him. There are so many references to various stars, comets, nebulae, and the like, that there is little doubt in my mind that in this passage *Taiyi* must be an astrophysical body, like a constellation or the Pole Star, and was perhaps also seen as a god.

The next poem that mentions *Taiyi* was composed by Wang Bao 王褒. It is not known when Wang Bao composed his poems. However, it is known that he received a court summons in 58 BCE,¹⁰⁸ and his poems were added to the *Chuci* 楚辭 by Liu Xiang during the reign of Emperor Cheng (51 BC–7 BCE), so it can be presumed that the poems in his “Nine Regrets” collection were written in the Han Dynasty, somewhere between 58 and 7 BCE. In this poem, *Taiyi* is portrayed as being located up in the sky, and could easily be an astrophysical body, like a star.

At the completion of this investigation into the use of *Taiyi* over time, I can conclusively answer the question ‘What is *Taiyi*?’ The incidences of *Taiyi* in the early Chinese texts bring us to two fairly stable descriptions of *Taiyi*. However, these two conceptions of *Taiyi* do not appear to have run in parallel, invented perhaps by different schools or states; rather, they ran sequentially, changing from one to the other with the passing of time. In the Pre-Qin, *Taiyi* was seen as an abstract entity, but by the Han, *Taiyi* is both personified and associated with the Pole

¹⁰⁸ According to Hawkes, *Ch’u Tz’u: Songs of the South*, 141.

Star. The fact that the texts originated in ‘different’ schools of thought did not affect this trend much.

In my investigation into instances of *Taiyi* (both as *Taiyi* 太一 and *Daiyi* 大一) in the *Taiyi Sheng Shui*, the *Laozi*, the *Yili*, the *Liji*, the *Zhuangzi*, the *Xunzi*, and the *Lushi Chunqiu*, I found a fairly cohesive vision of *Taiyi* as abstract entity, a generative force somehow simultaneously having form and no-form, something unified and powerful, coming first in various hierarchies, often (but not always) synonymous with the *Dao*, and often (but not always) associated with cosmological elements, like Water, Heaven, Earth, *yin* and *yang*, the four seasons, ghosts and spirits, hot and cold, and wet and dry. Several texts mention that it is something either to be emulated or used by the Sage. While not all of the early texts describe *Taiyi* in precisely the same way, none of these texts contradict the description above, and none mention *Taiyi* as a ‘God’ or as an astrophysical entity. By the end of the Warring States, *Taiyi*’s relation to stellar phenomena begins to creep into some of the literature. The *Han Feizi* and the *Chuci* both describe *Taiyi* as generally being in the sky among the stars, and more specifically as the Pole Star itself. While the earliest mention of *Taiyi* in the *Chuci* merely has him as an anthropomorphic ‘Emperor’ or ‘God’ of the East, the descriptions in the later poems of the *Chuci* explicitly describe *Taiyi*’s position in the Heavens in relation to other stellar phenomena.

While not conclusive evidence to precisely date the TYSS material, the fact that *Taiyi* is portrayed differently in the Warring States than in later texts confirms that the TYSS was probably not written later than the Warring States period, and was likely written at least some years before the end of the Warring States. Based on the shift in treatment of the term found in my investigation, I would tentatively put the timeframe of the TYSS sometime before or during the time of Xunzi (ca. 312–230 BCE) and certainly before Han Feizi (ca. 280–233 BCE).

By tying together the archeological evidence with the philosophical arguments, a timeline can be tentatively established. The archeological evidence indicates that the tomb must have been sealed sometime in the period of 323–278 BCE, and was most likely sealed between 323–300 BCE. The philosophical arguments, including an analysis of the way the term ‘*Taiyi*’ was used in various texts, suggest that the TYSS material most likely originated before 280 BCE, but possibly no later than 312 BCE. To my delight, the archeological and philosophical timelines coincide very nicely. Therefore, taking into account the evidence uncovered by both the archeological and philosophical investigations, I can say with some confidence that the latest the TYSS material could have been inscribed was during the period 323–278 BCE, and it is very likely it was inscribed before 300 BCE.

3.1.3 Implications of Dating the Guodian *Laozi* and TYSS material

By narrowing down the timeline for the Guodian *Laozi*, insight can be gained into the nature of the edition, the possible reason behind the unusual arrangement of the Guodian edition, as well as the possible logic behind the assemblage of such an unusual set of tomb texts. Since the texts were all philosophical in nature, and the philosophers of the Warring States were generally responding to the political situation of their times, assessing who the tomb might have belonged to and what the precise political circumstances that person was dealing with during his lifetime, may yield significant insight.

For example, in order to support the theory that the occupant of the “Guodian Tomb No. One” was indeed a tutor to the crown prince and that the collection of texts in the tomb was assembled for the purpose of teaching that prince to be king, as several scholars have suggested, it would be important to assess whether the philosophy contained in the texts would be suitable advice for ruling the kingdom at that time. In order to accomplish this assessment, the identity of

that prince must first be determined. Then, a look at his particular historical and political setting would indicate whether philosophy of the Guodian *Laozi* would have been appropriate to the circumstances.

Based on the timeline for the closure of the Guodian tomb of 323–278 BCE (or the more likely 323–300 BCE), it is fairly simple to determine who was the ruler at the time of the closure of Guodian Tomb No. One, and who, then, was the heir apparent. There are only two realistic candidates for ruler:

1. King Huai of Chu *the First* 楚前懷王 (a.k.a. Mi Xiong Guai 𪛗熊槐) ruled 328–299 BCE
2. King Qingxiang of Chu 楚頃襄王 (a.k.a. Mi Xiong Heng 𪛗熊橫) ruled 298–263 BCE

Which leaves only two realistic candidates to be the heir apparent:

1. King Qingxiang of Chu 楚頃襄王 (a.k.a. Mi Xiong Heng 𪛗熊橫) ruled 298–263 BCE
2. King Kaolie of Chu 楚考烈王 (a.k.a. Mi Xiong Wan 𪛗熊完) ruled 262–238 BCE

In order to determine which heir apparent could have buried his tutor in the Guodian tomb, a little detective work is required. The Guodian's tomb occupant was described as being an elderly man, and could have been buried either *while* tutor to the prince, or *after* the prince became king (making the engraved cup found in the tomb an old cup).

Based on the reign years alone, it seems most likely that King Huai was reigning at the time, with Qingxiang as crown prince. It is also historically possible that it was King Qingxiang's reign with Kaolie as crown prince, however, according to *Defining Chu*, when King Kaolie came to the throne, he made his tutor a local lord (giving him the title 'Prince Shen of Eling' a.k.a. Chunshen).¹⁰⁹ Therefore his tutor was still alive when he became king in 263 BCE, and died sometime after that, which is incongruent with the most likely closure date of the tomb.

¹⁰⁹ Constance A. Cook, "The Ideology of the Chu Ruling Class" in *Defining Chu*, ed. Constance A. Cook and John S. Major (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 75–76.

In addition, if Kaolie's tutor was buried after becoming 'Prince Shen of Eling,' surely there would have been some evidence of his new position in his tomb. My investigation agrees with the findings of the Dartmouth conference scholars, who based their assessment by comparing dates with other tombs, like Baoshan Tomb No. 2.¹¹⁰

The crown prince of Chu was surely watching his king closely, as he dealt with a relatively recent change in the long-time status of Chu. From a long history of expansion and success, Chu had gone into a period of contraction and decline. The prince must have been looking ahead to his own reign and known what to expect. By briefly tracing the political and cultural history of the Chu, it will be easier to determine precisely what was happening in this critical period, and what the prince was facing as he prepared to assume rule.

The kingdom of Chu had been growing substantially since 710 BCE and had enjoyed almost 400 years of success. When the power of the Zhou started to weaken in the 700s, Chu became a major force, contending with other states for power in the region. Chu had begun as a small state, but eventually absorbed 61 other states and several nearby tribes. As such, they began to differentiate themselves from the Zhou, not only politically, but also culturally, by developing their own rituals and distinctive 'Chu style.'¹¹¹ As their territory and wealth grew, so did their aristocracy, along with a pre-occupation with daily pleasures. According to Xu Shaohua, the changes in the state of mind of the Chu were reflected in their burial practices. For example, there was a shift towards enjoying the earthly life, and away from the worship of those in the past. Large bronze ritual vessels, somber rituals with offerings, and tomb layouts resembling

¹¹⁰ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 29 and 246. According to Susan Weld, the occupant of Tomb No. 2 at Baoshan was King Huai's *zuoyin*, Shao Tuo. Susan Weld, "Chu Law in Action," *Defining Chu*, 80–81.

¹¹¹ Xu Shaohua, "Chu Culture: An Archaeological Review" in *Defining Chu*, 26. Barry B. Blakely, "Geography of Chu" in *Defining Chu*, 9 and 14–17. He Hao 何浩, *Chu mieguo yanjiu* 楚滅國研究 (Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe, 1989), 10–13 and Henri Maspero, *China in Antiquity*, Frank A. Kiernan Jr., trans. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1978), 169–221.

temples were replaced with incense burners, beautified objects of daily use (like colorful lacquerware with fantastical designs), luxury items such as silks and musical instruments, and the tombs began to resemble the living quarters of the deceased.¹¹²

Chu's main rival for power had been Jin 晉, which was North of the Yellow River, and the two had fought continually for control of the states just South of the river. To the Southeast, Chu contended with Wu 吳 and Yue 越; in the West, with Qin 秦. However, Chu had always managed to maintain its boundaries and expand. Around 450 BCE, everything changed.

Around 450 BCE, Jin broke apart into three successor states, Han 韩, Zhao 趙, and Wei 魏. Within the following century, both Wei and Han had been able to expand to the South of the Yellow River, and seize some strategic cities. This was very problematic for Chu, who suddenly struggled to control the states to its North.¹¹³ To deal with these developments, King Dao of Chu 楚悼王 had employed a non-noble, Wu Qi 吳起, as his prime minister. His main task was to deal with "Chu's greatest weaknesses": a corrupt and inefficient government, filled with officials who held too much power and wealth and not enough skill.¹¹⁴ Wu Qi's legalist-style reforms were extensive, and made him very unpopular, especially with the aristocracy. With the king's support, he dismantled the Chu system that favored hereditary privileges and instead began promoting the capable. Despite his unpopularity, Wu Qi's reforms were successful in empowering Chu. However, they were perhaps too much for the aristocracy to bear. As soon as the king died in 381 BCE, they rose up, assassinated Wu Qi, and reversed his reforms. This put Chu back into a precarious position heading into the third century BCE.

¹¹² Xu, "Chu Culture: An Archaeological Overview," 37–38 and 41.

¹¹³ Blakely, "Geography of Chu," 14–18 and Maspero, *China in Antiquity*, 169–221.

¹¹⁴ Blakely, "Geography of Chu," 64.

According to Loewe, there is little can be definitively known about the Chu kings of this era, since the only surviving source of knowledge is only quasi-historical.¹¹⁵ However, it is known that during the next three reigns, Chu faced increasing pressure from Qin to the West, and kept trying to expand East. King Wei of Chu 楚威王 (a.k.a. Mi Xiong Shang 𦣞熊商) ruled 339–329 BCE, was the son of King Xuan, and partitioned the State of Yue with the State of Qi 齊. His son, King Huai of Chu the First 楚前懷王, suffered defeat after defeat at the hands of Zhao and Qin, famously losing to the Qin armies at the Battle of Danyang after Qin's invasion of Sichuan.

Things were falling apart for King Huai of Chu the First 楚前懷王. Following the reverse of the (successful) legalist reforms, and the growth the aristocracy's power, corruption abounded in government, and the king suffered a loss of authority. The king employed Qu Yuan 屈原 (who lived 339–278BCE) as his 左徒 *zuotu*, meaning 'aide,' and referring to a position right after the prime minister. He was good at formulating edicts and was asked to draft the written laws for Chu. Chu at the time was a legal contradiction: it appeared to value its *dian* 典 (legal documents), yet at the same time tended to follow its *fa* 法 (ritual and vagrancy laws).¹¹⁶ This is most likely due to the ever-increasing autonomy of the aristocracy, who began determining their own code of behavior—outside the official laws. Like Wu Qi, Qu Yuan had a broad aspiration in reforming the politics in Chu by reducing corruption and helping Chu to unify the whole of China (via an alliance with Qi 齊) in opposition to Qin.¹¹⁷ Perhaps

¹¹⁵ Michael Loewe, ed. *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*. (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1993), 4. He is referring to *Intrigues of the Warring States* a.k.a. *Zhanguo*.

¹¹⁶ Weld, "Chu Law in Action," 80–81.

¹¹⁷ His ideals are outlined in the poems he wrote after his dismissal, especially "*Li Sao*" 離騷 ("The Lament"), which can be found in the *Chuci* 楚辭.

unsurprisingly, the powerful and corrupt pro-Qin aristocracy did not like Qu Yuan's reforms, and their ever-growing influence at the time resulted in his dismissal. King Huai was also supposedly pro-Qin (although it is difficult to ascertain the true extent he was independent of the aristocracy), and due to this leaning, was successfully lured to Qin with an invitation to an 'international conference' with the Qin king. Upon his arrival, he was held hostage by Qin until his death several years later. The crown prince of Chu had to flee eastward before he was crowned King Qingxiang of Chu 楚頃襄王.

In sum, the prince Qingxiang watched his father fail to defend the Chu state against the ever-encroaching Qin armies, and was about to take over a government filled with corrupt officials who were members of a very powerful and selfish aristocracy. He was coming to the throne at one of the lowest points of Chu state power, and with little authority as king. If the occupant of the Guodian tomb was indeed a tutor of this prince, his personal collection of texts would most likely reflect what he taught. If these books, including the Guodian *Laozi*, were meant to serve as a tools or guides to rulership for the heir apparent, they would most likely contain material suitable to the particular circumstances the prince would face once he became king. Does the Guodian *Laozi* material give advice applicable to this situation? What advice do the Guodian texts give as a whole? A thematic analysis of the texts is required to determine the answer to these questions.

3.2 Thematic Analysis

In the following section, I will rely primarily on the work of Robert G. Henricks and the scholars from the Dartmouth conference for my thematic analysis of the Guodian *Laozi*, and on Susan Weld, Scott Cook, and Kenneth Holloway for a thematic overview of the rest of the Guodian collection.

There are two prominent sets of themes in the Guodian *Laozi* which demand exploration. The first are the themes one would *expect* to find in the Guodian edition, based on the received text, but which are notably absent. The second are the themes that are prominent in the Guodian *Laozi*, and therefore may hold the key to understanding the nature and purpose of the Guodian edition. Before going into each set in depth, I offer a quick overview of the way several prominent scholars have divided the Guodian *Laozi* by theme.

The Guodian *Laozi* A is the largest of the three Guodian ‘*Laozi*’s and consists of received verses R66, R46, R30, R64 part 2, R37, R63, R2, R32, R25, R5, R16, R64 part 1, R56, R57, R55, R44, R40, and R9, in that order. Wang Bo has proposed that it can be divided into five units: the largest of these, Unit 1 (R66, R46, R30, R64 part 2, R37, R63, R2, R32) and Unit 4 (R64 part 1, R56, R57) have the theme of ruling the state; the smaller Unit 2 (R25, R5) and Unit 3 (R16) have cosmological themes; Unit 5 has a theme of self-cultivation (R55, R44, R40, R9).¹¹⁸

The Guodian *Laozi* B consists of received chapters R59, R48 lines 1–5, R20 lines 1–7, R13, R41, R52 lines 5–10, R45, and R54, in that order. Wang Bo claims the theme of the *Laozi* B appears to be primarily self-cultivation.¹¹⁹ However, three of its eight chapters also directly relate to ruling the state (R59, R13, R54). In addition, Chapter B:7 (R45) could also potentially be viewed as related to ruling the state, as it concludes with: “Pure and tranquil, you can stabilize the whole world.”¹²⁰ So while the theme of ruling the state is still present, it does not appear to be the dominant theme of the *Laozi* B. Carine Defoort believes the two themes of the *Laozi* B are self-cultivation and politics. She claims these themes two are combined in the first four chapters (R59, R48, R20, R13), the fifth is about self-cultivation, and the last three chapters are about

¹¹⁸ Henricks, *Lao Tzu's Tao Te Ching*, 7. Henricks also has notes about this; this is not the usual reading.

¹¹⁹ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 154.

¹²⁰ Henricks, *Lao Tzu's Tao Te Ching*, 105.

government.¹²¹ Chen Guying believes that the entire *Laozi* B is about first valuing one's own person before trying to rule the state.¹²²

The Guodian *Laozi* C consists of received verses R17, R18, R35, R31, R64 part 2, plus additional material that is not in the received *Laozi*. This additional material has been titled the TYSS, and can be separated into three or four contiguous sections.¹²³ According to Sarah Allan, the *Laozi* C (without the TYSS) can be divided into four sections designated by four black squares on the slips: R17–18, R35, R31, R64 (lines 10–18). However, the sequence of these four sections or their related sequence to the TYSS is unknown.¹²⁴ Wang Bo claims the theme of the *Laozi* C overall appears to be ruling the state.¹²⁵ The TYSS material has been called cosmological in nature, due to the cosmology found in slips 1–8; however, by setting those 8 slips aside and looking at the rest of the slips, it could be argued that the TYSS—like the rest of the *Laozi* C material—also primarily contains themes of ruling the state.

Although at first glance, it may appear the majority of material in the three bundles relate to ruling the state, some of it relates to self-cultivation and has cosmological themes. Therefore, a more in-depth thematic investigation is still required.

3.2.1 Characteristic Themes Absent in the Guodian *Laozi*

One of the first things to strike most readers of the Guodian *Laozi* is the near-absence of many themes that have traditionally been considered 'characteristic' of the text. These include praising passivity and weakness (including emulating water, the female, the infant), and many

¹²¹ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 157–158.

¹²² Ibid, 158.

¹²³ *Guodian chumu zhujian* divides the slips into three sections: slips 1–8, 9, and 10–14. Henricks divides the slips into four sections: slips 1–8, 9, 10–12, and 13–14. Henricks, *Lao Tzu's Tao Te Ching*, 123.

¹²⁴ Sarah Allan, "The Great One, Water, and the Laozi: New Light from Guodian," 254.

¹²⁵ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 154.

elucidations on the mystery that is *Dao*. By comparing the received text to the Guodian *Laozi*, and consulting with Henricks,¹²⁶ I have compiled the following list of noticeable absences.

Table 3.1 Themes in the Received *Laozi* (R) which are Absent in the Guodian *Laozi* (G)

THEME	Received Chapter
Passivity	R3, R16, R20, R22, R24, R29, R30, R33, R48, R61, R63, R69, R72, R73, R81
Weakness	R3, R30, R43, R76 (<i>all</i> instances missing from G)
Related to: - water - female - the infant	R8, R34, R43, R78 (the <i>only</i> water reference in G is in TYSS) R6, R28, R36, R43, R61, R76, R78 (<i>all</i> instances missing from G) R10, R20, R28 (<i>only</i> R55 reference found in G)
<i>Dao</i> - as ‘mother’ who births and nurtures - as formless/ abstract/ nameless - as the One - as <i>Tiandao</i> (the Way of Heaven)	R1, R4, R6, R14, R34, R51, R52 (<i>only</i> R25 reference found in G) R16, R20, R34, R51, R52 (<i>only</i> R25 and R59 references found in G) R1, R6, R14, R21 R10, R14, R22, R39, R42 (<i>all</i> instances missing from G) R47, R73, R77, R78, R79 (<i>only</i> R9 reference retained in G)

I believe it is very likely that the absence of some of the above themes is due to the chapters in question not being written at the time of the Guodian edition. Bruce Brooks makes a strong argument that it is statistically improbable that Chapters R67–81 were *all* excluded from the Guodian edition by chance, and the chances that the Guodian *Laozi* was drawing from a source larger than 72 chapters is “essentially nil.”¹²⁷ However, some of the chapters that contain the above references in the received *Laozi* are actually present in the Guodian *Laozi*, but simply do not include the terms, phrases, or lines in question. Therefore, the above references were either

¹²⁶ Henricks, *Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching*, 17–19.

¹²⁷ E. Bruce Brooks, “Probability and the Gwodyen Dau/Dv Jing,” *University of Massachusetts at Amhurst Warring States Working Group Newsletter* 13 (10 Mar 1999): 51–52.

deliberately excluded/alterd in the Guodian edition, or were deliberately added some time after the Guodian edition was collated. Either way, the fact that these themes are not present in the Guodian *Laozi* makes one wonder which themes *are* prevalent, and what the presence and absence of these themes could mean for the overall meaning and purpose of the Guodian edition.

3.2.2 Rulership Themes Prominent in the Guodian *Laozi*

Many scholars agree that the prevalent theme of the Guodian *Laozi* is ruling the state. By looking at the text chapter by chapter, one quickly discovers a reference to rulership (either explicit or implied) in almost every chapter. But how does this explain the presence of references to self-cultivation and cosmology? The references to self-cultivation are nicely integrated into a rulership system by Harold Roth:

If there is an overall theme to the Guodian *Laozi* parallels, it is that of the benefits of Daoist inner-cultivation practice to rulership. ... the topic of inner cultivation is central [...] a specific set of passages talks about a sage-ruler and illustrates how the psychological states attained through inner cultivation are useful for governing. This set includes A I–VIII, XVI; B IV, VII, VIII; and C I, III–V. Noticeably absent here are many of the passages on governing and warfare that we find in the received *Laozi* in such chapters as 36, 50, 60, 61, 65, 67–69, 74, 76, 78, and 80. What this indicates is that whoever compiled the Guodian bundles was more concerned with the self-cultivation of the ruler than with specific principles of sagely government.¹²⁸

If the passages describing self-cultivation practices can be related to a system of rulership, could the cosmological portions also fit into that model of rulership? Roth believes so. He explains that references to inner cultivation, to *wuyu* 無欲 ‘becoming desireless,’ and *wuwei* 無為 ‘acting effortlessly’ are found in many passages (A XII, XIII, XV–XVIII, B I, II, VI; in A I, III, VI, VII, XVI, and in A VI–IX, B II, respectively), and then explains how cosmological references (in A

¹²⁸ Allen and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 87–88. As mentioned earlier, the absence of these chapters could be due to that particular portion of the text not being written yet. However, it could also have not been written yet because those themes were not of concern yet.

X–XIV, XX, and B VII) regarding the “activity of the Way or the Way of Heaven... provide a cosmological basis for these psychological experiences.”¹²⁹

Roth’s theory that the cosmological and self-cultivation portions of the Guodian *Laozi* could be directly related to its vision of rulership is very exciting, as it would explain why such seemingly disparate subjects were addressed within the same text. It led me to ask: exactly what image of government does the Guodian *Laozi* advocate? Does it suit the circumstances of Qingxiang of Chu in the late Warring States? By going through the Guodian *Laozi* chapter by chapter, I found that a distinct image of rulership emerges.

The ideal ruler first of all reduces self-interest and desires, and knows what is ‘enough.’¹³⁰ He is not arrogant and does not aggrandize himself, trying to make others depend on him; rather, he is humble and hesitant, making himself appear below and behind other people, even to the point of appearing insufficient, flawed, clumsy, and dull.¹³¹ He tries his best not to rule by force or fear, and turns to violence, weapons, and war only as a last resort.¹³² Beyond that, he avoids even making strict rules, taboos, or even distinctions.¹³³ Ideally, he is just still and tranquil, not appearing to ‘act’ at all, and the people follow his will without even realizing it was not their idea in the first place.¹³⁴ Despite it appearing as if he does not take action, he does his best to complete tasks carefully.¹³⁵ He models himself after the Way¹³⁶ in order to build his virtue and inner harmony.¹³⁷ In this, he follows certain meditative practices that involve being empty and

¹²⁹ Ibid, 88.

¹³⁰ A:1 (R19), A:3 (R46), A:6 (R64 part 2), A:7 (R37), A:10 (R32), A:18 (R44), A:20 (R9), B:1 (R59), C:4 (R64, p2)

¹³¹ A:2 (R66), A:4 (R30), A:5 (R15), A:9 (R2), A:10 (R32), A:20 (R9), B:4 (R13), B:5 (R41), B:7 (R45), C:1 (R 17–18), C:6 (TYSS 9, 13–14)

¹³² A:2 (R66), A:4 (R30), A:7 (R37), A:16 (R57), A:17 (R55), B:3 (R20, lines 1–7), C:3 (R31), C:6 (TYSS 9, 13–14)

¹³³ A:16 (R57), C:1 (R 17–18)

¹³⁴ A:6 (R64 part 2), A:7 (R37), A:8 (R63, lines 1–4, 14–15), A:9 (R2), A:14 (R64, part 1), B:2 (R48, lines 4–5), B:7 (R45), C:4 (R64, part 2)

¹³⁵ B:5 (R41), C:1 (R 17–18), C:4 (R64, part 2), C:5 (10–12)

¹³⁶ A:10 (R32), A:11 (R25), B:8 (R54), C:2 (R35)

¹³⁷ A:17 (R55), B:1 (R59)

closing himself off¹³⁸ and worries more about his own body and life than ruling the state.¹³⁹ He reduces knowledge and learning,¹⁴⁰ he doesn't talk about 'what he knows' or try to 'instruct' anyone (in conventional ways).¹⁴¹

This could plausibly be seen as a perfect formula for a king to employ if he was assuming the throne in a time when the officials under his charge were powerful and corrupt, which was in fact the situation Qingxiang was facing. In that situation, building oneself up as 'superior' to the aristocracy, and attempting to use force and fear to bend them to one's will, might result in non-compliance at best and assassination at worst, as evidenced by the failed efforts of both Wu Qi and Qu Yuan. By instead assuring the officials that they had influence and status in the rulership, the king could both preserve his throne and "endure a long time," working behind the scenes to accomplish what he could for the state.¹⁴²

3.2.3 Ideas of Rulership in the Rest of the Guodian Collection

The final test of my theory that the Guodian *Laozi* was meant to be a tool to help the crown prince Qingxiang of Chu successfully assume the throne is whether or not the rest of the Guodian collection also carried the same image of ideal ruler, and/or offered the same rulership advice. Besides the *Laozi*, the Guodian collection includes: *Ziyi* 緇衣 ("The Black Robes"), *Lumugong wen Zisi* 魯穆公問子思 ("The Duke Mu of Lu Asks Zisi"), *Qiongda yishi* 窮達以時

¹³⁸ A:13 (R16, lines 1–6), A:15 (R56), B:6 (R52, lines 5–10)

¹³⁹ B:4 (R13), B:8 (R54)

¹⁴⁰ B:2 (R48, lines 4–5), B:3 (R20, lines 1–7)

¹⁴¹ A:1 (R19), A:9 (R2), A:15 (R56)

¹⁴² In developing the above description, I employed every single chapter in Guodian *Laozi* save three, which I think makes my description an accurate portrayal of the Guodian *Laozi*'s ideal ruler, and shows quite well the prominence of rulership themes in the Guodian *Laozi*. The three chapters which I could not easily fit into the description above were A:12 (R5, lines 5–7), A:19 (R40), and C:5 (TYSS 1–8). A:12 is a short verse about the space between heaven and earth being empty like a bellows, yet not collapsing. This could perhaps be related to 'becoming empty,' and perhaps relate to some meditative practice, however, I hesitate to read too much into it at this point. A:19 is a short verse with two lines about the Way "returning" *fan* 返 and being weak, and two lines about 'being coming from non-being.' This possibly could be related to a ruler who appears weak, and suggest that by not trying to 'rule' he can be 'ruler,' however, again, that could be a stretch. Finally, while I could relate C:5 (TYSS 10–12) to completing tasks, C:5 (TYSS 1–8) is the cosmology, which does not have any explicit references to rulership.

(“Misery and Success Depend on the Age”), *Wuxing* 五行 (“The Five Conducts”), *Tang Yu zhi dao* 唐虞之道 (“The Way of Tang and Yu”), *Zhongxin zhi dao* 忠信之道 (“The Way of Loyalty and Sincerity”), *Chengzhiwenzhi* 成之聞之 (“The Sage is of Heavenly Virtues”), *Zun deyi* 尊德義 (“Revering Virtue and Propriety”), *Xingzimingchu* 性自命出 (“Human Nature Comes From the Mandate”), *Liu de* 六德 (“The Six Virtues”), and *Yu cong* 語叢一、二、三、四 (“Thicket of Sayings” Part 1, 2, 3 & 4).

According to Scott Cook, the question of whether to rule by force was a particular focus of the Guodian texts. He claims that:

A prominent and intriguing facet of these [Guodian bamboo] texts is the insistence with which they engage, both directly and indirectly, in the [debate] against the use of coercive measures as the primary means of bringing order to the state. ... The texts in question would appear to have been written down at the time when that debate was at its height.¹⁴³

He furthermore surmises that this debate was brought to a head by the increased social mobility of the noble class, and the growing concern this caused rulers.¹⁴⁴ This matches the historical and political situation facing Qingxiang of Chu (as described in Section 3.1.3), as well as the image of the ideal ruler derived from the Guodian *Laozi* (as described in Section 3.2.2).

According to Cook, the question of whether to use *fa zhi* 法治 ‘law’ (i.e. coercion) or *de zhi* 德治 ‘virtue’ (i.e. example/prestige) is found explicitly in the *Ziyi* 緇衣, the *Chengzhiwenzhi* 成之聞之, the *Xingzimingchu* 性自命出, and the *Wuxing* 五行, where “any attempts to use coercive measures based on an explicit legal code to replace the authoritative prestige [德 *de*] of rulers and others in high positions are condemned as both impracticable and misguided.”¹⁴⁵ A

¹⁴³ Scott Cook, “The Debate over Coercive Rulership and the “Human Way in Light of Recently Excavated Warring States Texts,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 64 no. 2 (Dec. 2004): 402–403.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 438.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 417.

nice example of the philosophy in these texts which accords with the image of rulership derived from the Guodian *Laozi* is found in the *Xingzimingchu* 性自命出:

Thus the former kings, in their instruction, encouraged good by following in accord with what [the people] took joy in, and prohibited wickedness by following in accord with what [the people] abhorred. Thus while they made no use of punishments and penalties, their prestige flowed like a current; though they lessened their governmental commands, their transformative influence shone forth like the spirits.¹⁴⁶

In this passage, the ruler has little need for punishments or orders, and ‘leads’ by following the people’s natural inclinations and preferences, making the people feel like they are making the decisions themselves. These texts, as well as the *Liu de* 六德 and *Yu cong* 語叢一、二、三、四, also emphasize that following along with human nature will result in successful rule.¹⁴⁷ The *Chengzhiwenzhi* 成之聞之 additionally discusses how the ruler must first develop his virtue within himself before he can rule others, and claims coercive action should be used only as a supplement or last resort.¹⁴⁸ These theories of rulership all accord with the image of the ruler presented by the Guodian *Laozi*.

In a related vein, Kenneth Holloway discusses the collection’s debate over whether meritocracy (‘promoting the worthy’) or aristocracy (inherited position) is preferable in matters of state.¹⁴⁹ According to Holloway, the *Tang Yu zhidao* 唐虞之道 and the *Wuxing* 五行 express concern that creating a pure meritocracy would cause friction with the aristocratic families who already held official positions, and therefore ‘promoting the worthy’ must be carefully balanced

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 437.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 411 and 414.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 413.

¹⁴⁹ Kenneth Holloway. 2009. *Guodian: The Newly Discovered Seeds of Chinese Religious and Political Philosophy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

with attention to family connections. This caution is promoted a matter of ‘practicality,’ in order to avoid dissention among the officials.¹⁵⁰

Scott Cook, Kenneth Holloway, and Susan Weld¹⁵¹ all agree on several points. They agree that while the books comprising the Guodian collection may not have been written at the same time as each other or by the same authors, that they (as a group) constitute a consistent vision of rulership and of law. In an era where rulers were attempting to consolidate larger and larger kingdoms, and where increased social mobility and wealth created a large, powerful, and corrupt official class, social control was a big concern to Warring States rulers. Rulers in the Warring States were experimenting with various methods of increasing their authority, including the development of strict laws, with varying success. The Guodian collection advocated social control and authority based on example and persuasion, rather than laws and coercion. It argued that this type of leadership is more successful because it follows along with natural human dispositions and relationships—in effect, ‘Human Nature.’ Punishments and coercion should only be employed as a last resort.

This portrait of rulership advocated by the Guodian collection as a whole not only matches that of the Guodian *Laozi*, it also would be very suitable for meeting the circumstances of the prince Qingxiang of Chu. The prince Qingxiang of Chu had seen his father struggle with the growing influence and power of the aristocratic class, and the (unfortunate) results of his father’s attempt to enact strict laws and meritocracy via Qu Yuan.¹⁵² Even though it appears Qingxiang was instructed in a certain type of rule based on the contents of the Guodian collection, Qingxiang must have still been debating the effectiveness of that system versus a

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 105–106 and 129.

¹⁵¹ Susan Weld, “Guodian and Baoshan: Legal Theories and Practices,” *Jianbo (Bamboo Silk)*
<http://www.jianbo.org/Zzwwk/2003/wuhanhui/Susan%20Weld01.htm>

¹⁵² He also very likely knew of the similar struggle and failure of Dao of Chu and Wu Qi, some fifty years earlier.

system of law/coercion and meritocracy, because as soon as he was crowned king, he re-instated Qu Yuan. However, he obviously was still not convinced that this was the best solution, or he would not have dismissed Qu Yuan again so quickly.

4 A New Lens through Which to Read the Guodian *Laozi*

If the Guodian *Laozi* is indeed a different edition than the received *Laozi*, with different contents and emphases, it follows that perhaps it should not be read through the same eyes. A new lens may be required. But which one?

The received *Laozi* has traditionally been read through the lens of dichotomy and reversal dictated by the primacy of *yin* and *yang*. This made sense in light of the received *Laozi*'s cosmology. Yet *yin* and *yang* are not primary forces according to the cosmology of the TYSS. The received *Laozi* has also traditionally been treated as a book about *de* 德 and *dao* 道, based on its relatively even coverage of both topics. Yet the Guodian *Laozi* barely mentions *Dao* 道, and where it does, it does not describe it in the same terms. Instead, the Guodian *Laozi* appears to primarily be a tool for maintaining authority, order, and leadership when ruling the state. In light of these things, it appears that the new lens should reflect rulership more than cosmology.

My investigation into replacing the traditional lens of the *yin-yang* metaphor with a new lens was initially spurred by a comment made by Roger Ames. The fact that *Taiyi* returns and assists in creation, rather than ordering it in a top-down fashion, led Ames to note that perhaps instead of the Guodian *Laozi* clashing with or destroying the traditional cosmology of the received *Laozi*, that the *yin-yang* metaphor was simply over-extended in the past, and a revision of our understanding of how the *yin-yang* theory applies to the *Laozi* might be needed in order to

reflect these newly discovered cosmological concepts.¹⁵³ Based on this small comment, I set out to discover how the *yin-yang* metaphor might be reframed to better reflect the contents of the Guodian *Laozi*, including its different cosmology and emphasis on rulership.

In the following section, I will use cognitive science, and in particular blending theory, to show how almost all of the entailments traditionally attributed to the *yin-yang* metaphor can be reduced to the Vertical Orientation image schema. Interestingly, the few *yin-yang* entailments ‘missing’ in the Vertical Orientation schema are not found in the Guodian *Laozi*, which lends support to my theory that the Vertical Orientation schema may be a more appropriate way to frame the Guodian *Laozi* than the *yin-yang* metaphor. It also supports Roger Ames’ theory that the Guodian *Laozi* still holds some *yin-yang* imagery, just to a lesser degree. Finally, I also intend to show how the Vertical Orientation schema is a trope for the way human beings process authority, which is why it is a good lens through which to read a text on rulership.

4.1 Cognitive Science Methodology

I have based much of my methodology on the work of George Lakoff, Mark Johnson, Mark Turner, and Masako Hiraga. I have also borrowed the idea of using metaphor theory to see literary works through ‘fresh eyes’ from Wim de Reu.

Metaphor theory was first thoroughly investigated and popularized by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980. Mark Turner and Giles Falconnier then built upon the Lakoff-Johnson model of conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) to create blending theory (BT) in 1995, and further refined it with several publications over the following decade. Both CMT and BT are based on the idea that metaphors are not simply linguistic conventions or constructs, but are a uniquely human way of thinking

¹⁵³ Roger Ames and David L. Hall. 2003. *Making this Life Significant: A Philosophical Translation*. New York: Ballentine Books, 226 and 228.

and processing concepts, which arises—or is ‘motivated’—via our experience of living in a human body; hence our ‘cognition’ is said to be ‘embodied.’

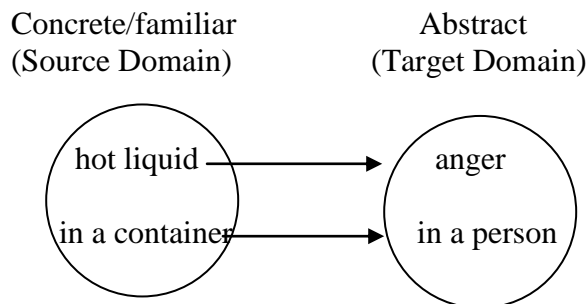
To be more specific, metaphor theory states that the way we physically live—as embodied creatures—is the reason why we conceptualize our world the way we do, and the way we express ourselves linguistically is a result of our conceptualizations. Since all human beings possess similar (if not identical) human-shaped bodies, all humans on the planet will encounter the same basic experiences that lead to a shared set of conceptualizations. These are called ‘image schemas,’ and they are the basis of ‘primary metaphors.’ Both image schemas and primary metaphors are universal, and acquired at a very early age, through each human trying to navigate the world in a body. In other words, they are sensory- and experience-based, and are *not at all* culturally related.¹⁵⁴ This is the reason we can accurately apply metaphor theory to ancient Chinese thought: people in Warring States China had the same bodies and basic embodied experience as modern people in North America, where metaphor theory developed.

In metaphor theory, metaphors are created by using one (usually concrete and familiar) conceptualization to explain a second conceptualization (which is usually abstract and unfamiliar). The qualities and entailments from the first conceptualization (also called a ‘source domain’) are projected, or ‘mapped,’ onto the second conceptualization (the ‘target’ domain). For example, one can conceptualize the abstract idea of ‘anger in a person’ as the more familiar and concrete conceptualization of ‘hot liquid in a container,’ in order to understand it better and have a concrete way to reason about it. The entailments of the source domain can also

¹⁵⁴ Lakoff and Johnson outline the concept of primary metaphor in “Chapter 4: Primary Metaphor and the Subjective Experience” and give four pages of examples. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. 1999. *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 50–54. Johnson first introduced image schemas in Mark Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reading* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 459–461. Evans and Green offer a thorough investigation into image schemas in Vyvyan Evans and Melanie Green, *Cognitive Linguistics: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 178–201.

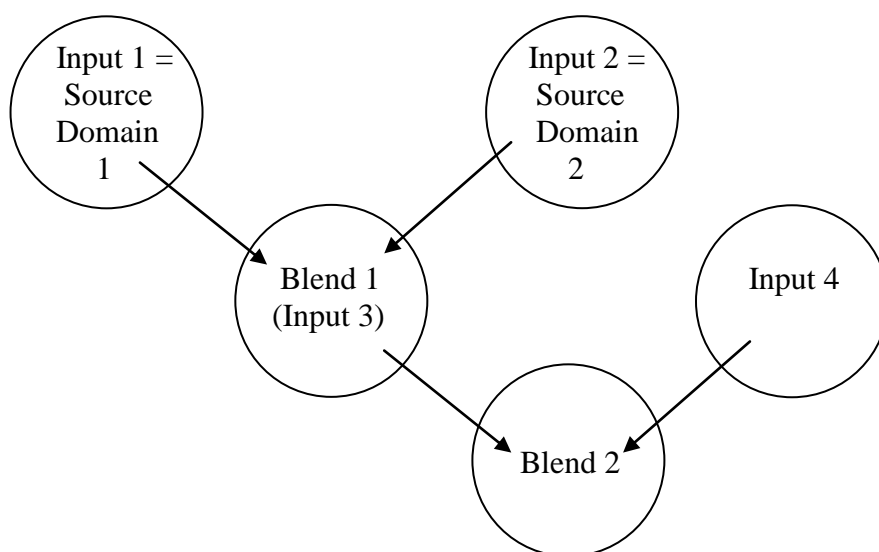
(selectively) be used to describe the target domain. In this example, entailments like hot water boiling and expanding beyond the container could also be applied to the conceptualization of an angry person (with the anger seen as uncontainable, and perhaps even capable of ‘splashing out’ onto others nearby and ‘burning’ them).

Figure 4.1 Example of a Mapping of a Source Domain to a Target Domain



Blending theory expands upon metaphor theory so the conceptualizations (domains) do not have to be mapped from abstract/unfamiliar to concrete/familiar. In addition, more than one conceptualization can be selectively mapped onto another in various ways, creating new blended conceptualizations with emergent properties, which can in turn be mapped onto further blends.

Figure 4.2 Example of a Mapping of a Complex Blend



In Figure 4.2 above, two Inputs (Source Domains 1 and 2) are selectively mapped or ‘blended’ to create Blend 1, which is in turn used as one of the Inputs for a later blend (Blend 2). In theory, this process of creating blends, then turning the resulting blends into inputs in order to create new blends could continue indefinitely. Of course, the examples of Metaphor Theory and Blending Theory illustrated in Figures 4.1 and 4.2 have been greatly oversimplified here, simply for the sake of introducing the basic theories in a general way. I will be employing the theories in much greater depth in Section 4.2.

Masako K. Hiraga specifically applies blending theory to poetry, and discusses it in context of Japanese and Chinese characters. I found her work and references invaluable for working specifically with Chinese characters and concepts.¹⁵⁵

Wim De Reu claims that “metaphor analysis... constitutes a key method to gain access to philosophical writings.”¹⁵⁶ In a guest lecture for graduate students at the University of British Columbia (UBC), he described a way of approaching textual interpretation that is more ‘text based’ and ‘open-ended’ than traditional methods.¹⁵⁷ He called it the ‘Metaphor Approach,’ thereby acknowledging the research done by fathers of metaphor theory, Lakoff and Johnson, even though De Reu does not completely follow their methodology. De Reu recommends approaching a text with ‘fresh eyes’ and without looking to confirm a pre-existing hypothesis.

¹⁵⁵ Masako K. Hiraga, *Metaphor and Iconicity: A Cognitive Approach to Analysing Texts* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) and Masako K. Hiraga, Chris Sinha, and Sherman Wilcox, eds, *Cultural, Psychological and Typological Issues in Cognitive Linguistics* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1999). In addition, I used Hiraga’s methods to explore the characters of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 as metaphoric blends in and of themselves, to see if the results would support my overall findings in this paper. They did, with each character producing a very similar image schema(s) to those I arrived at through metaphor theory (see footnote 158 for further information). However, since the long popular character analysis has recently come into question, this project offered only circumstantial (not concrete) evidence in favor of my argument. In this, Hiraga also led me to Ning Yu, *From Body to Meaning in Culture: Papers on Cognitive Semantic Studies of Chinese* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2009) and Zhou Youguang 周有光, *Historical Evolution of Chinese Languages and Scripts* 中國語文的時代演進, Zhang Liqing 張立青, trans. (Ohio: National East Asian Languages Resource Centre, 2003), which were both quite helpful in applying blending theory and cognitive science to Chinese characters and terms.

¹⁵⁶ Wim De Reu, “How to Throw a Pot: The Centrality of the Potter’s Wheel in the *Zhuangzi*,” 1.

¹⁵⁷ “ASIA 590: Thinking With the Body: Embodied Cognition and the Study of Culture” at the University of British Columbia (UBC), Vancouver, Canada, January 12, 2010.

I incorporated this method to see if the new lens/perspective I came up with worked for the Guodian *Laozi*. That is, after constructing the new lens, I merely kept it in the back of my mind while I read through both the received and the Guodian *Laozi* ‘with fresh eyes’ and without pre-conceived assumptions, to see whether or not it matched the entailments found in both or either edition of the text.

4.2 (Re-)Constructing the *Yin-yang* Metaphor using the Verticality Image Schema

Yin and *yang* are well-known terms to most Chinese people. In their most basic form, they mean ‘overcast’ and ‘sunny,’ respectively. Unfortunately, the concepts of ‘sunny’ and ‘shady’ by themselves do not give us the full range of metaphorical entailments that are traditionally associated with *yin* and *yang* in the *Laozi*. Fortunately, the full set of entailments *can* be predicted through the field of cognitive science, by closely examining these terms through the lens of metaphor theory. By using metaphor theory, I will show that the *yin-yang* metaphor is not merely an all-encompassing set of dualities, but has a very particular conceptualization behind it: the Vertical Orientation schema.

Determining the entailments of the *yin-yang* metaphor is not as simple as it seems, since the *yin* and *yang* inputs can each be considered metaphor blends unto themselves (with each their own emergent sets of entailments), which are then blended together to create the *yin-yang* metaphor with its own set of entailments.¹⁵⁸ However, even disregarding the initial character

¹⁵⁸ By looking at the traditional characters themselves, the radicals that make up the characters of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 are clearly pictographic, and represent some of the most salient experiences of early man, for example, natural geography (mountains) and weather (clouds and sun). According to Hiraga (*Metaphor and Iconicity*, 197), the traditional written characters of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 preserve the meanings of ‘shady’ and ‘sunny’ because they are ideograms derived from pictographic components. According to Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, (*Chinese Writing* 文字學概要. Gilbert L. Mattos and Jerry Norman, trans. Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California., 2000, 51–57), most Chinese characters were pictographic in antiquity; however over time, and as vocabulary increased, the preponderance of symbols shifted to be mostly semantographic symbols and phonograms. By dissecting the *yin* and *yang* characters, one finds that several layers of iconicity exist within the *yin* and *yang* metaphors. First, there is imagic (‘image’) mapping from the character to all three inputs (the three pictographic radicals)—in other words, the shape or visual form of the character directly suggests its

blends, and simply assuming very basic definitions of *yin* and *yang*, the process of deriving the *yin-yang* entailment system involves many steps.

The traditional character for *yin* 陰 shows a ‘mound’ on the left side, with a ‘cloud’ on the bottom right, below the symbol for ‘today/now/present time.’ The symbol for ‘today/now/present time’ (*jin*) also offers the phonetic for the character (*yin*).¹⁵⁹ According to Qiu Xigui, who quotes the *Shuowen*, *yin* meant “clouds cover the sun,” and explained that by extension the northern sides of mountains were called *yin* because they were often in shade.¹⁶⁰ The traditional character for *yang* 陽 shows a ‘mound’ on the left side, with a ‘sun’ on the top right. The right side of the *yang* character can further be grouped as 旦 (daybreak, i.e. the sun coming over the horizon) and 昃 (bright, i.e. light streaming off the sun), which both directly relate to the interpretation of *yang* as ‘sunny.’ Therefore, the northern sides of mountains were called *yang* because they were often in the sun.

Beginning with the basic definitions of *yin* as ‘shady’ or ‘cloudy’ and *yang* as ‘sunny,’ it is clear that this is a light metaphor. If the light metaphor is traced back into its embodied experience, light—for human beings—is directly related to our experience of daytime and thus

meaning. Second, after various aspects of each input are selectively mapped onto the blend, the blend results in an emergent ‘image schema’ (basic framework of a scenario or situation), which is then diagrammatically mapped back onto the character. In the case of *yin*, the pictograph for ‘mound’ and ‘cloud’ are combined with an observer (extrapolated from the meaning of the phonetic *jin*, as explained by Ning Yu on page 71) to produce the image schema of a person on a hill with clouds overhead. This image schema is then diagrammatically mapped back onto the character *yin*. In the case of *yang*, the pictograph for ‘mound’ and ‘sun’ (and possibly ‘prayer flag’) produce the image schema of a hill with the sun overhead, (possibly beaming wavy light or heat lines down). This image schema is then diagrammatically mapped back onto the character *yang*. These basic image schemas are very close to the image schemas I arrive at through the entailment set produced via the human embodied experience of verticality. For further details on this methodology, see Hiraga, *Metaphor and Iconicity*, 203–204. Also see Peirce’s three sub-types of iconicity: image (mimicry), diagram (analogy), and metaphor (parallelism), described in Hiraga (15 and 22), Pietarinen, and in Peirce’s various papers.

¹⁵⁹ Qiu, 355. Hiraga, Masako K., *Metaphor and Iconicity*, 200.

¹⁶⁰ Qiu quotes the *Shuowen*: “*Yin* [w/o mountain radical] means ‘clouds cover the sun’ and is derived from *yun* ‘clouds’ and *jin* as the phonetic.” The converse of this *yin* would be ‘clear,’ as in *yingqing* ‘cloudy and clear.’ Qiu quotes the *Shuowen* further: “*Yin* [with mountain radical] means ‘dark’ as on the south sides of rivers and the north sides of mountains. It is derived from *fu* ‘a mound’ and *yin* as the phonetic.” Qiu explains that *yin* [with mountain radical] was created to differentiate the connotations between the two *yins*, however, they soon became orthographs, and *yin* [with mountain radical] became the standard for both meanings. Qiu, 355.

activity. As humans, our eyes need light to see, and we need to see in order to (more easily) perform most of our daily tasks. This is why our activities have historically been accomplished in the day time and our rest taken at night. A sense of how human verticality is a conceptual ‘frame’ necessary to understanding the entailments of *yin* and *yang* also emerges. When it is light out, we are awake, we can see, so we get up, and become active and accomplish tasks. When it is dark out, we cannot see, so we lay down to sleep or rest, and wait for light to return. The equation ‘light + verticality = activity,’ and its converse ‘dark + horizontal = rest’ also produce the entailments of hot and cold (as it is hot/warm in the day when the sun is out, and cold/cool in the shade and at night), as well as the entailments of quiet and noisy (since activity breeds noise while rest both requires and produces quiet). By combining light metaphors with the frame of verticality, I end up with an entailment system that looks like this:

Table 4.1 Preliminary Entailments of *Yin* and *Yang*

<i>yin</i>	<i>yang</i>
cloudy/overcast/shady	sunny/bright
dark	light
night	day
cold/cool	hot/warm
quiet	noisy
hampered/lack of sight	sight
(laying) down	(standing) up
sleep/unconsciousness/rest	awake/consciousness/work
passivity	activity

As demonstrated above, there is clearly a link between light and verticality in the *yin-yang* metaphor. However, the human experience of verticality is not limited to the basic actions of standing up and lying down, but the full range of sensory experience related to these actions—i.e. all of the results and consequences of these actions. If I look even closer into the Vertical Orientation image schema, I find yet another layer of primary metaphors that create even further entailments for the *yin-yang* metaphor.

The struggle for survival requires (1) physical skill and strength, as well as (2) the ability to function in groups. When humans stood up, they gained a great advantage over the animals on ‘all fours.’ Suddenly, their hands were free and could be used to grasp, manipulate, carry, and complete other dexterous tasks. Suddenly their field of vision became much wider, as they gained a higher vantage point on the world. Their verticality gave them an immense strategic advantage in hunting and protecting themselves from animals, as they could both (a) see them coming from farther away, and (b) use their hands to fashion and wield tools and weapons. Verticality also gave humans an advantage in gathering, since they could fill and carry loads of food or supplies in their hands as they walked. Be it through hunting or gathering, the bellies of vertical humans were being filled, which carried an evolutionary advantage, as it is very attractive to mates who want to produce and support young.

All of these abilities naturally extended to the interpersonal world as well, and were used to establish dominance and power among humans. Those who literally gained the upper hand or the higher ground won battles, got the most food, earned the most fear and respect, and commanded the most obedience. They also consequently got the most mates. Those individuals who had the strength and health to stand with hands free held power and influence over those who could not, for example, a large strong vertical adult could easily outrun, overpower, and outwork those who were smaller, sick, injured, very young, very old, and those with babes in arms (i.e. women).

The general concept of GOOD IS UP/ BAD IS DOWN quickly arose from the human embodied survival-based experiences that STRONG IS UP/ WEAK IS DOWN, SUCCESS IS UP/ FAILURE IS DOWN, VICTORY IS UP/ DEFEAT IS DOWN, LIFE IS UP/ DEATH IS DOWN, POWER AND CONTROL IS UP/ LOSS OF POWER AND CONTROL IS DOWN, and STATUS IS UP/ LOSS OF STATUS IS

DOWN. These resulting primary metaphors, when connected to the physical experience of ‘being’ up or down, dovetail nicely with the light metaphors, and the entailment of *yin* and *yang* expands to look like this:

Table 4.2 Full Entailments of *Yin* and *Yang*

<i>yin</i>	<i>yang</i>
cloudy/overcast/shady	sunny
dark	light
night	day
cold/cool	hot/warm
quiet	noisy
hampered/lack of sight	sight
(laying or being) down	(standing or being) up
sleep/unconsciousness/rest	awake/consciousness/work
passivity	activity
illness/injury	health
weakness	strength
slow	fast
infants/the very elderly	adults
small	large
women	men
loss of power and control	gain of power and control
loss of status/low status	gain of status/high status
follower	leader
unskilled	skilled
defeat/failure	victory/success
empty (belly)	full (belly)
death	life

By combining the basic meaning of the characters with the entailments above, an image schema can finally emerge. In order to know where the human ‘experiencer’ is positioned in relation to the schema, I turned to Ning Yu. Ning Yu discusses the idea of time and space in relation to the observer, and concludes that “the present time is conceptualized as co-present or co-existing with the Observer.”¹⁶¹ He further notes that the idea of the ‘present’ existing with the observer works whether or not the observer is conceived as being stationary or moving, and that both types (stationary and moving observer) exist in Chinese as well as English. Therefore the

¹⁶¹ Yu, 71.

human ‘experiencer’ is an integral part of the image schema, and is central to the experience the image schema conveys. The image schema for *yang* is a human standing up on a hill (the most vertical vantage point) in full sunlight, and for *yin* it is a human lying down in the shade created by the hill or by clouds blocking the sun (the least vertical vantage point).¹⁶² Therefore, when using either schema to process information, a person senses events from that particular vantage point/perspective.

Figure 4.3 Yin-Yang Image Schema



The full *yin-yang* blend has three inputs: the *yin* image schema, the *yang* image schema, and the schema of the cycle of a day. When the blend is fully enacted, it creates an interesting emergent property: motion! Rather than just resulting in two weather conditions and two different vertical positions in one static image, the two conditions alternate, initiated by the third input of the cycle of a day. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to diagram ‘alternation’ or ‘motion’ on a 2D chart. It could perhaps be shown by superimposing the two input image schemas; however, it might just look very messy and confusing, and not really indicate that they are meant to alternate. Another option could be to put one schema on ‘top’ (right-way-up) and one on the ‘bottom’ (upside-down), perhaps with a curved arrow to indicate that they ‘cycle.’ However,

¹⁶² If we return to examine the traditional characters of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽, we notice that the Vertical Orientation image schema is in fact built right in to the characters: the ‘sun’ is placed on the top right side of the character for *yang*, and the ‘cloud’ is placed on the bottom of right side of the character for *yin*.

this two-sided image might imply that both conditions exist simultaneously, rather than alternate.¹⁶³

The action of alternation does lead us close to the traditional concept of ‘reversal,’ where *yin* and *yang* are sets of complementary opposites in constant flux. While there is a certain kind of reversal, in the sense of alternation, it is important to note that the *only* things that are actually ‘reversing’ are the two image schemas—in fact, it is only certain parts of the image schemas that are alternating in conjunction with each other—the weather condition (light/dark) and the verticality of the observer (up/down). To elaborate, the image schemas are only built on two ideas, which are interrelated: light and verticality. These are the only two elements that change. It is not the ‘set of entailments’ *per se* that are reversing; the entailments only change as a result of the alternation of image schemas, which only change when light and verticality are changed. As a result, a definition of the metaphor can hardly be based on what happens to the sets of entailments—it must be based on the image schema.

After deriving a prediction of what the full set of entailments for the *yin-yang* metaphor would include by using cognitive science methodology, I compared them to the entailments of the *yin-yang* metaphor that are traditionally recognized in the received *Laozi*, and concluded that they map very well. A few specific examples of *yin-yang* entailments found in the received *Laozi* which are missing in the final list of entailments above are concepts like soft/hard and flexible/rigid, formless/formed, abstract/concrete, knowledge/ignorance, and nameless/named. However, soft/hard and flexible/rigid could be taken as subsets of the concepts of weakness and strength on the chart above. The other examples appear to arise out of the light metaphors, and

¹⁶³ I realize this statement could be a point of contention, as *yin* and *yang* can technically exist simultaneously, with each one prominent to different degrees. What I fear is that using such an image as the image schema (prototypical scenario) would imply that both *yin* and *yang* conditions are *fully* present simultaneously in the blend, which is not the case, i.e. while the *yang* image schema is a static image of 100% sunny and the *yin* image schema is a static image of 100% shady, our blend is not a place and time that is simultaneously ‘100% sunny’ and ‘100% shady.’

could be possibly included under that banner: when it is dark and we can't see, things are formless, abstract, we do not know what they are and so they are unable to be identified or named; when it is light and we can see, things have form, are concrete, we know what they are and so they are able to be identified or named. The final 'missing' example of liquid/solid could fit into either subset above: either weakness/strength or formless/formed.

After having established the entailments for the *yin-yang* metaphor in the received *Laozi*, I looked at the entailments in the Guodian *Laozi* to see where the two sets converge and diverge. First I looked at the converging entailments. The concepts of dark/light, formless/formed, ignorance/knowledge, nameless/named, cold/hot, quiet/noisy, down/up, passive/active, illness-injury/health, weak/strong, slow/fast, infant/adult, small/large, loss of control/control, unskilled/skilled, defeat/victory, and empty/full are obvious in the text of the Guodian *Laozi*, as shown in Table 4.3 below.¹⁶⁴ As indicated in the table, almost all of the entailments of *yin* and *yang* in the Guodian *Laozi* that I expected to find by using cognitive science are indeed in the Guodian *Laozi*. The corresponding passages in the received *Laozi* are also marked in Table 4.3.

¹⁶⁴ For full textual quotations, see Henricks, *Lao Tzu's Tao Te Ching*.

Table 4.3 Entailments of the *Yin-Yang* Metaphor in the Guodian and Received *Laozi*

ENTAILMENT	LAOZI PASSAGE
dark/light	G-A15 (R56), G-B5 (R41), G-B6 (part of R52)
formless/formed	G-A9 (R2), G-A11 (R25), G-A13 (R16, lines 1–6), G-A19 (R40), G-B5 (R41)
ignorance/knowledge	G-A1 (R19), G-A15 (R56), G-A17 (R55), G-B2 (R48, lines 1–5), G-B3 (R20, lines 1–7)
nameless/named	G-A1 (R19), G-A7 (R37), G-A10 (R32), G-A11 (R25), G-B5 (R41), TYSS 10–12
cold/hot	G-B7 (R45), TYSS 1–8
quiet/noisy	G-A11 (R25), G-B5 (R41), G-C2 (R35)
hampered-lack of sight/sight	G-C2 (R35)
down/up	G-A2 (R66), G-A9 (R2), G-B5 (R41), B-C1 (R17–18), TYSS 10–12, TYSS 13–14
passive/active, rest/work	G-A5 (R15), G-A6 (R64 part2), G-A7 (R37), G-A8 (R63, lines 1–4, 14–15), G-A9 (R2), G-A11 (R25), A16 (R57), G-A20 (R9), G-B1 (R59), G-B2 (part of R48), G-B5 (R41), G-B7 (R45), G-C1 (R17–18), G-C4 (R64 part 2), G-B6 (part of R52), G-A14 (R64, part 1)
illness-injury/health	G-A14 (R64, part 1), G-A18 (R44), G-B7 (R45), G-B5 (R41), G-B4 (R13)
weak/strong	G-A14 (R64, part 1), G-A17 (R55), G-B5 (R41), G-B8 (R54), G-A19 (R40), TYSS 9
slow/fast	G-B5 (R41)
infant/adult	G-A17 (R55), G-A11 (R25), TYSS 1–8
small/large	G-A2 (R66), G-A10 (R32), G-A11 (R25), G-A14 (R64, part 1)
decrease/increase control	G-A9 (R2), G-A14 (R64, part 1), G-A16 (R57), G-B1 (R59), G-B3 (R20, lines 1–7), G-B4 (R13), G-C3 (R31), G-C4 (R64, part 2)
decrease/increase status	G-A5 (R15), G-A15 (R56), G-A18 (R44), G-20 (R9), G-B1 (R59), G-B4 (R13)
follower/leader(ruler)	G-A2 (R66), G-10 (R32), G-11 (R25), G-A16 (R57), G-B1 (R59), G-B4 (R13), G-C1 (R17–18)
unskilled/skilled	G-B7 (R45), G-A16 (R57)
defeat/victory	G-A4 (R30), G-A9 (R2), G-A18 (R44), G-B4 (R13), G-B5 (R41), G-B7 (R45), G-C3 (R31)
empty/full	G-A5 (R15), G-A11 (R25), G-A13 (16), G-A17 (R55), G-A20 (R9), G-A21 (R5, lines 5–7), G-B5 (R41), G-B7 (R45), G-B8 (R54), TYSS 1–8, TYSS 13–14

Naturally, since the received *Laozi* is longer, it also has additional instances of these same entailments; however I don't feel the need to include additional examples here to prove the point

that these entailments are found in both editions of the *Laozi*. Although the *duplicated* entailments do not need further investigation here, the entailments I *expected to find but did not* are worth further investigation. Are these remaining entailments contained within the received *Laozi*? If so, why are they not in the Guodian *Laozi*?

The entailments I expected to find in the Guodian *Laozi* (but did not) are cloudy/sunny, sleep/awake (unconscious/conscious), women/men, and death/life. Upon examination of the received text, I did indeed find many examples of women/men and death/life. However, there were no instances of sleep/awake (unconscious/conscious) or cloudy-shady/sunny.

Table 4.4 Entailments of the Yin-Yang Metaphor Not Found in the Guodian *Laozi*

ENTAILMENT	PASSAGE
cloudy-shady/sunny	NONE
sleep/awake, unconscious/conscious	NONE
women/men, mother/father	R1, R6, R10, R20, R21, R28, R42, R52, R61
death/life	R33, R50, R51, R73, R74, R75, R76, R80

The references to women and men in the received edition are explicit in most cases, referring to ‘female’ and ‘male,’ although a few refer to ‘mother’ and ‘father’ instead of ‘female’ and ‘male.’ It is important to note that there are two references to ‘mother’ in the Guodian *Laozi*: G-A11 (R25) and G-B1 (R59). However, there are only these two, and the three additional passages that contain references to ‘mother’ in the received *Laozi* lack the specific lines that refer to ‘mother’ in the Guodian version. There are no references at all to ‘father’ in the Guodian *Laozi*, nor are there any references at all to ‘female’ or ‘male.’

The references to ‘death’ and ‘life’ are also explicit in the received version. However, there are also no explicit references to ‘death’ and ‘life’ in the Guodian *Laozi*. Although one

could make an argument that one passage (G-C3) does talk about ‘killing,’ and a few passages allude to the idea of ‘enduring,’ which could arguably be a reference to ‘living.’

It is very surprising not to find any references to sleep/awake (unconscious/conscious) or cloudy/sunny in the received *Laozi*, especially considering their prominent use in the other foundational Daoist text, the *Zhuangzi* 莊子.¹⁶⁵ However, since the *Zhuangzi* was composed at a later date than the *Laozi*, perhaps these were metaphors that did not gain much literary use in earlier times. An analysis of the use of the sleep/awake metaphor and the sunny/cloudy metaphor in all early Warring States texts is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this thesis, but it would make an interesting project. Another, very likely, possibility is that these concepts were subsumed by the dark/light and rest/work pairings.

To check whether these were indeed subsumed into the dark/light and rest/work pairings, and determine the importance of the absent male/female and life/death pairing, I looked to the received *Laozi*. While I found no evidence of the first (cloudy/sunny) in the received text, the last (death/life) is featured and discussed quite explicitly in the received text. When looking at the references to death/life in the received *Laozi*, it seems significant that with the exception of R33, they all occur in the second half of the text, and the majority of them occur in chapters 67 to 81—a section of chapters that is completely absent from the Guodian version. One could muse that perhaps these chapters, and their related entailments, were added at a later date. However, this theory does not explain the references to women and men in the received version that are spread out throughout the chapters found at Guodian. These chapters were not grouped into any particular section of the text.

¹⁶⁵ Standard Chinese Edition: Wang Shumin, 王叔岷, ed., *Zhuangzi jiaoquan* (2 vols) 莊子校詮(全二) (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 2007). English Translation: Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*.

If the Guodian *Laozi* was some kind of ‘proto’ version of the *Laozi*, based on a collection of units that were circulating orally around 300–400 BCE, it leads to two possibilities: (1) the Guodian *Laozi* was a preliminary written record of these units, one which was eventually built upon over time by various editors adding material from various sources to eventually form the first ‘complete’ *Laozi* text (perhaps the Mawangdui *Laozi*) around the mid- to late- 3rd century BCE, or (2) that the Guodian *Laozi* and the received *Laozi* are both merely two different collections of these oral units. If either of these two possibilities are correct, then perhaps the lines and/or verses relating to ‘female’ and ‘male’, ‘death’ and ‘life,’ did not even *exist* at the time of the Guodian *Laozi*. If they did exist, and were just not selected for the Guodian version, perhaps they simply did not suit the purposes of the collator(s) of the Guodian edition.

Based on Bruce Brook’s statistics, I am inclined to believe that the chapters relating to ‘life’ and ‘death’ were not in existence at the time of the Guodian *Laozi*. However, when it comes to the verses relating to ‘female’ and ‘male,’ things do not seem as clear-cut. As previously mentioned, almost every reference to ‘female’ is absent in the Guodian *Laozi*, as are the themes of ‘passivity’ and ‘weakness.’ Perhaps ‘female’ was subsumed under these categories, and absent for that reason. Until further evidence is uncovered, perhaps even another edition of the *Laozi*, it may be impossible to make a definitive statement on the matter.

What I was able to determine, by using cognitive science methodology, was that the entailments of the *yin-yang* metaphor were not randomly chosen: they almost perfectly match what I would expect to find based on our human embodied experience, as it relates to the concept of verticality. Looking at the *yin-yang* pairs as by-products of verticality, and therefore directly related to our human embodied experience of power and authority, is a novel way to look at *yin* and *yang*. It continues to allow for *yin-yang* pairs, yet it also allows for a re-framing of certain

passages in ways that support the rulership themes prominent in the Guodian edition. As evidenced in the following section (e.g. in the paragraph on *que* 缺, *ying* 盈, and 經 *jing*), reading certain passages and images through the perspective of verticality (instead of through pairs of complimentary ‘opposites’) can highlight an aspect or image which would have otherwise been overlooked.

5 Reading the Guodian *Laozi* through the Lens of the Verticality Image Schema

The next step in this line of research was to thoroughly analyze the Guodian edition of the *Laozi* through the lens of verticality to see how (and to what degree) this new perspective offered further insight. I was very curious: Would reading the Guodian *Laozi* this way allow me to see something new? Would it help me better understand the text? Would it work consistently through the Guodian *Laozi* A, B, C, and the TYSS portions? Would it confirm or deny my theory that the Guodian *Laozi* was meant to be a book about rulership?

Instead of using the most commonly applied method of picking through the text trying to find evidence to confirm my theories, I followed Wim De Reu’s suggestion of simply reading the text again with ‘fresh eyes.’ Trying to forget the lens of *yin* and *yang*, and with only a basic image of verticality in the back of my mind, I read through the Guodian *Laozi* from start to finish several times.¹⁶⁶ It was only after this process was complete that I could draw any conclusions about the suitability of the new lens.

I looked at the text of the Guodian *Laozi* on two levels: on a character level, and on a thematic level. On a character level, I found many terms referring to verticality, such as: *zheng* 正 (straight/upright), *zhi* 直 (straight/vertical/upstanding), *shang* 上 (upper part/ go up), *gao* 高 (high, tall), *xia* 下 (lower part/go down), *li* 立 (stand/stand up/upright), *bing* 並 (stand side by

¹⁶⁶ Henricks, *Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching*.

side), *fang* 方 (upright), *ju* 居 (be situated/stand), *qu* 屈 (bend, as in to bend a person's body), *que* 缺 and *ying* 盈 (as in bending a yarn 'under' and 'over'—in terms of weaving), and *jing* 經 (as in 'the warp' or the vertical strings on the loom). On a thematic level, I also found terms such as *tian* 天 (heaven), *di* 地 (earth), *da* 大 / *tai* 太 (great), *Taiji* 太極 (the Great Ultimate), as well as other phrases that created vertical images, even if the precise terms they used were not overtly 'vertical.'

When it came to verses explicitly referring to 'up' and 'down,' i.e. *shang* 上 (upper part/go up), *gao* 高 (high, tall), *di* 底 (low, bottom, base), *xia* 下 (lower part/go down), and excluding all instances of *xia* 下 which appear in the term *tian xia* 天下 (all under heaven), the *Laozi* A has 6 instances spread over two chapters, the *Laozi* B has 4 instances spread over two chapters, and the *Laozi* C has a surprising 15 instances spread over four of its eight chapters.¹⁶⁷ This would seem to imply that verticality is quite important concept in the *Laozi* C, perhaps more so than in the *Laozi* A or B. However, since it was still early in the investigation, I hesitated to draw any conclusions at this stage.

To conclude this section on explicit ideas of 'up' and 'down,' I wanted to highlight the terms *que* 缺 and *ying* 盈 in C:5 (TYSS slips 1–8) as 'under' and 'over' in terms of weaving, and the term 經 *jing*, as in 'the warp' or the set of fixed vertical strings on the loom. When weaving with a loom, the warp yarns are fully attached before weaving begins. The mixed and stable warp provides the 'framework,' and the weft, once woven repeatedly over and under the warp strings, makes the 'pattern' and completely hides the warp strings. Therefore, I translate “一缺一盈，以

¹⁶⁷ A:2 (R66) several instances of 下 and 上; A:9 (R2) 高 and 下 juxtaposed; B:4 (R13) 下; B:5 (R41) 上 and 下 juxtaposed, 上 and 谷 juxtaposed; C:1 (R17,18) 太上 and 下 juxtaposed; C:3 (R31) several instances of putative 上 meaning 'to deem superior,' 上 as in 'most high/supreme'; C:5 TYSS (slips 10–12) 上 and 下 juxtaposed; C:6 (TYSS part 2, slips 13–14) 下高 juxtaposed with 上底, a couple of instances of 上 and 下 juxtaposed.

紀為萬物經。” as: “In turns going under and over, [it] takes itself to be the warp of the ten thousand things.” The terms *que* 缺 and *ying* 盈 are not often translated as ‘under’ and ‘over’ by other translators. Instead, these terms are often translated as ‘lacking’ and ‘in excess’ or ‘waning’ and ‘waxing.’ Both ‘lacking / in excess’ and ‘waning / waxing’ are perfectly legitimate pairs of definitions for these characters, and they normally represent a moon metaphor. If one was only looking to find *yin-yang*-type complementary pairs, one would be satisfied with this translation. However, due to the use of the term 經 *jing* (the ‘warp’) in the sentence following these terms, I believe the Guodian *Laozi* is employing a weaving metaphor, not a moon metaphor. Since *que* 缺 and *ying* 盈 can also legitimately be translated as ‘under’ and ‘over,’ does it not make more sense to have one cohesive metaphor (weaving) per sentence rather than two (moon and weaving)?¹⁶⁸ My translation easily stands without the influence of the vertical orientation schema; however, by reading the text through the vertical orientation schema, the weaving metaphor is strengthened and supported. In addition, if *Taiyi* 太一 takes itself to be the warp of the ten thousand things, and the ruler was meant to emulate *Taiyi* 太一, as suggested in the analysis in Section 3.1.2, then this passage suggests the ruler should also attempt to be the warp—the stable ‘framework’ completely hidden beneath the ‘pattern’ made by the movements of his subjects all around him. This very much sounds like the image of the ideal ruler in Section 3.2.2. While there is only one instance of each of these terms in the text, the concept of *jing* 經 has been often investigated as a key term of the *Laozi*. If this is indeed the case, and for the sake of argument I will postulate here that it is, then that only strengthens the idea that verticality is also a key concept in reading the Guodian *Laozi*.

¹⁶⁸ Henricks awkwardly translates this line as “first it is depleted, then it is full; we regard this beginning as the guiding principle of the ten thousand things.” Ibid, 123.

Next, I found verticality in terms related to standing and having the body upright, straight, or bent: *li* 立 (stand/stand up/upright), *ju* 居 (be situated/stand), *bing* 並 (stand side by side), *fang* 方 (upright), *zheng* 正 (straight/upright), *zhi* 直 (straight/vertical/upstanding), *qu* 屈 (bend, as in to bend a person's body). These terms are found throughout the text, with 17 instances spread over eight chapters.¹⁶⁹ By analyzing the numbers and distribution of these terms, an interesting pattern emerges: the *Laozi* B only carries one instance of the terms in this group, B:7 (R45) 大直若屈 “Great straightness seems to be bent,” however, the *Laozi* A and C have a good selection of terms spread over several chapters. It may be possible that the *Laozi* A and C are better read through the verticality orientation schema, and the *Laozi* B is better read primarily through a different lens.

Although it was too early in the investigation for me to come to any solid conclusion, I was surprised at the overall number of explicit textual references to the vertical orientation schema. Sixteen of the Guodian *Laozi*'s 36 chapters (counting the TYSS as four units) referred to the vertical orientation at least once using explicit vertical terminology; many verses also contained more than one reference, which brought the total to 45 explicit instances. This total does not include the many implicit thematic references or the 50+ ‘questionably vertical’ references, such as those to *tian xia* 天下 (all under heaven) or *da* 大 / *tai* 太 (great), which, as I will soon discuss, may or may not have consciously implied verticality to the speaker/writer.

Based on my investigation so far, I have made a tentative guess that the vertical orientation schema may be most important in reading the *Laozi* C, still important in reading the *Laozi* A, and perhaps not as important in reading the *Laozi* B. By looking at the important

¹⁶⁹ A:11 (R25) 立; A:9 (R2) several instances of 居; A:13 (R16 lines 1–6) 方, 居; C:3 (R31) many instances of 居; C:5 (TYSS slips 10–12) 並立; A:16 (R57) a couple instances of 正; C:1 (R17,18) 正; B:7 (R45) 直 and 屈 juxtaposed.

themes in each of these bundles, it becomes apparent why verticality may be a more central or peripheral concept for each of them: *Laozi C* has the most material related to ruling the state, *Laozi A* is still primarily about ruling the state, but includes some small sections on cosmology and self-cultivation, and *Laozi B* has more material about self-cultivation than ruling the state.

By doing a broader, more thematic analysis, less explicit references to verticality may emerge which may yield even more insight as to the depth and breadth of the use of the vertical orientation schema in the Guodian *Laozi*. I will begin the thematic analysis by looking at the juxtaposition and use of *tian* 天 (heaven) and *di* 地 (earth). Heaven and earth are referred to several times together (as 天地) as well as separately.¹⁷⁰ The most interesting passages in terms of building vertical images are A:10 (R32) “Heaven and earth come together and send forth sweet dew,” A:12 (R5 lines 5–7) “The space between heaven and earth—Is it not like a bellows? Though it is empty it does not collapse...,” B:1 (R39) “For ruling humanity and serving heaven there is nothing so good as keeping things in reserve,” and C:5 (TYSS slips 10–12) “What is below is soil, yet we refer to it as the earth: what is above is air; yet we refer to it as heaven.” These phrases build clear vertical images with earth below and heaven above. B:1 (R39) “For ruling humanity and serving heaven” even tells us where the king and the common people fit in the picture.¹⁷¹

While the vertical link between heaven and earth is clear and apparent based on human embodied existence (heaven is ‘up’ and earth is ‘down’ according to human perception), other terms are not so obviously ‘vertical’ in nature. For example, *tian xia* 天下, meaning ‘all under heaven,’ is commonly used to refer to ‘earth,’ not only in this text, but in all texts of the era. In

¹⁷⁰ A:10 (R32) 天地 twice; A:11 (R25) 天地 once, a couple of 天 and 地 as separate; A:12 (R5 lines 5–7) 天地 once; A:20 (R9) 天; B:1 (R59) 天; C:5 (TYSS slips 1–8) a couple of 天 and 地 as separate, a couple of 天地; C:5 (TYSS slips 10–12) 天 and 地 as separate, 天地 once.

¹⁷¹ The above translations are from Henricks, *Lao Tzu's Tao Te Ching*.

cases like this, it is easy for a non-native reader of Chinese to assume a vertical orientation implied by the use of the term, however, in his guest lecture Wim De Reu warned against the danger of reading too much into an interpretation, and so I tend towards caution. It is entirely possible that the average Warring States Chinese reader/writer would not make a conscious vertical association when using this term. On the other hand, cognitive science might argue that the unconscious embodied associations implicit in framing this linguistic expression would make it worthy of examination here. Therefore, while I did explore the use of the term *tian xia* 天下 in the Guodian *Laozi*, I am also willing to admit that this could be going out on a limb, and not useable data. The only interest it may serve could be if other evidence comes out strongly in favor of reading the overall text through the vertical orientation schema, but even then, it may turn out to be nothing more than very weak supporting evidence.

I found 21 instances of *tian xia* 天下 spread over 13 chapters: ten instances (in 9/20 chapters) in *Laozi* A, nine instances (in 3/8 chapters) in *Laozi* B, two instances (in 2/8 chapters) in the *Laozi* C. Interestingly, there were no instances of *tian xia* 天下 in the TYSS material at all.¹⁷² By eliminating the TYSS material from the *Laozi* C, the instances of *tian xia* 天下 in the remaining *Laozi* C material are found in 2/4 chapters, which puts the incidence of the term *tian xia* 天下 roughly equal in all three bundles (35–45%). I would need to compare this incidence to the average incidence of the term in other philosophical texts of the era in order to determine whether there is a higher incidence in the Guodian *Laozi* than was the norm. For now, I am just throwing this into the big pool of data to see if it can gain me any greater ‘access’ to the Guodian *Laozi* text.

¹⁷² A:2 (R66) 2x; A:4 (R30); A:9 (R2); A:10 (R32); A:11 (R25); A:15 (R56); A:16 (R57); A:19 (R40); B:4 (R13) 4x; B:7 (R45); B:8 (R54) 4x; C:2 (R35); C:3 (R31).

I did not originally set out to examine the use of 大 *da* in my analysis, however while I was reading through the Guodian *Laozi* with ‘fresh eyes,’ the great number of references to the word *da* 大 (great) is notable. *Da* 大 is originally a pictogram of a man standing upright with arms outstretched. This image fit so perfectly into the foundational arguments of my Methodology section that I thought it was worth examining the use of *da* 大 to see where it would take me. Realizing that the average Warring States writer may or may not consciously associate the character *da* 大 with an upright man, I decided to include *da* 大 in the same category as *tian xia* 天下, as a term which could be potentially over-interpreted yet also potentially useful to explore within context. Including instances where *da* 大 was later emended to read *tai* 太, the term *da* 大 is found a total of 29 times in the text: eight times (in 2/20 chapters) in the *Laozi* A, sixteen times (in 3/8 chapters) in the *Laozi* B, and seven times (in 3/8 chapters) in the *Laozi* C, which includes the TYSS material.¹⁷³ It is interesting to note that the 29 instances of *da* 大 were concentrated in only eight chapters of the text. This perhaps shows that certain chapters were emphasizing this concept/image specifically.

The final terms I will investigate are *taiji* 太極 (the Great Ultimate) and *ji* 極. The character *ji* 極, in its simplest definition, is a ridgepole, which is an immobile vertical figure. The image of the ridgepole is extended to refer to directions and geographical poles, e.g. *siji* 四極 (the four corners of the earth) and *beiji* 北極 (the North Pole). Sarah Allan, who refers to Ge Zhaoguang’s work in the *Zhongguo wenhua* 1990, says that *Taiyi* 太一 could be understood as (1) the Noth/Pole star, (2) the spirit of that star, (3) *Taiji* 太極 (the Great

¹⁷³ A:8 (R63) 1x; A:11 (R25) 7x; B:4 (R13) 3x; B:5 (R41) 8x; B:7 (R45) 5x; C:1 (R17–18) 2x; C:2 (R35) 2x; C:5 (TYSS slips 1–8) 3x.

Ultimate), and (4) *Dao* 道 (the Way).¹⁷⁴ Sarah Allan then talks a great deal about the connection between and exchangeability of *Taiyi* 太一, *Taiji* 太極, and *Taiheng* 太恆—the term actually used on the bamboo strips of the Guodian *Laozi*¹⁷⁵—and about several cosmologies which start with Heaven and Earth as the first things to emerge from the One. Sarah Allan writes quite a bit about *Taiyi* 太一 in her article, “The Great One, Water, and the Laozi: New Light from Guodian,” and draws connections between *jing* 經 (the warp), *Dao* 道, and *Taiyi* 太一.¹⁷⁶ This makes *jing* 經, *Dao* 道, *Taiyi* 太一, *Taiji* 太極, and *Taiheng* 太恆 all interchangeable terms. Robert Henricks also points to Ge Zhaoguang’s work, and agrees that *Taiyi* 太一, *Dao* 道, and *Taiji* 太極 are interchangeable at this time.¹⁷⁷ The explanation of why *Taiheng* 太恆 was used for *Taiji* 太極 in the Guodian *Laozi* (and other texts) is particularly interesting in light of the verticality orientation schema and the previous discussion of the possible significance of *tian* 天 (heaven), *di* 地 (earth) and *da* 大 as vertical images:

The earliest form of the character for *ji* 極, found in oracle bone inscriptions, is a man between two horizontal lines (二). The *Shuowen* explains these as the sky and the earth. Western Zhou bronze inscriptions add a mount (口) on the left (easily confused with the moon in *heng* 恆). A hand holding a cudgel is then added on the right, which is abbreviated in the *Shuowen* to a hand (又). However, there are also instances, e.g. from Houma, in which this element is abbreviated to the cudgel, which is similar in form to *bu* 卜 (“to divine”). Thus, *ji* and *heng* are easily confused in copying. The meanings are normally distinct, but in bronze inscriptions *ji* is used metaphorically to describe the role of the king or royal ancestor, who was the *ji* for the four quadrates, that is, the center or principle. Similarly, in cosmology Da Ji is the point of origin and takes the pole

¹⁷⁴ Allan, “The Great One, Water, and the Laozi: New Light from Guodian,” 237–285. Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光, “Zhong miao zhi men—bei ji yu tai yi, dao, tai ji” 眾妙之門北極與太一，道，太極 *Zhongguo wenhua* 3 (Dec 1990), 46–65. Also see Qian Baocong 錢寶琮, “Tai Yi kao” 太一考 *Yanjing xuebao* 12 (1932), 2449–2478.

¹⁷⁵ Allan, “The Great One, Water, and the Laozi: New Light from Guodian,” 276–279.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 266. The warp, as previously discussed, is the vertical thread that does not move.

¹⁷⁷ Henricks, *Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching*, 124. He also refers to Ge Zhaoguang’s work.

star as its metaphoric root. Da Heng as the point of greatest constancy is also this metaphoric center.¹⁷⁸

This clearly shows how people conceptualized the constant and ‘proper’ state of their universe, with *tian* 天 above, *di* 地 below, and man (the king) standing upright between the two. The king is seen as the centre point connecting *di* 地 to *tian* 天, perhaps even to the pole star, making the king the ridgepole. These are all very vertical images, worthy of exploration in the text.

To my surprise, I found only three instances of *heng* 恆 and three instances of *ji* 極 in the text.¹⁷⁹ Furthermore, the instances of *heng* 恆 don't appear to create obvious vertical images within their respective contexts. The instances of *ji* 極 are not particularly related to vertical images either. These unsatisfying results will require me to do an analysis of the images related to *Taiyi* 太一 as the only way to explicitly link *taiji* 太極 and *ji* 極 to verticality in the text. Unfortunately, due to time and space constraints, I cannot go into that in this thesis. However, a cursory look at the TYSS for these links does not look fruitful. There are no explicit links between the term *Taiyi* 太一 and verticality in the text. Some more subtle links mainly come from the fact that it produced heaven and earth (arguably vertical themes) before other elements in the cosmology, and that other elements in the cosmology arguably create vertical images (see discussion in next paragraph). It is possible that a more in-depth investigation would lead to more satisfying results in this regard, especially since Sarah Allan and others had written so much on the importance of the term *Taiyi* 太一 to the Guodian *Laozi*, its connections to *Taiji* 太極 and *ji* 極, and the significance of the ‘ridgepole’ image, particularly in relation to the Pole Star.

¹⁷⁸ Allan, “The Great One, Water, and the Laozi: New Light from Guodian,” 277. In her footnote, she says to additionally see Chen Chusheng 陳初生 *Jinwen changyong zidian* 金文常用字典 (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin, 1987), 1082–1084.

¹⁷⁹ 恆 in A:7 (R37), A:10 (R32), and C:4 (R64, part 2); 極 in A:13 (R16, lines 1–6) and B:1 (R59) 2x.

Finally, I explored some other phrases that imply verticality or create vertical images. Chapter A:10 (R32) has two references: one creates the image of “heaven and earth coming together,” and the other reminds the reader of the leader in Chapter A:2 being above the people by placing himself lower than them (while there are no explicit vertical terms used in A:10, there are many instances of *shang* 上 and *xia* 下 in A:2 and the imagery is definitely the same). Chapters A:13 (R16 lines 1–6), A:14 (R64, part 1), and B:1 (R59) have images related to plants secured by roots and growing upward out of the ground. In addition to this, Chapter A:14 also includes a tall tower and “a height of 800 feet,” which are both very strong vertical images.¹⁸⁰ The imagery of the pillars ‘holding up the sky’ implicit in C:6 (TYSS strips 9 and 13–14) are also strong vertical images.¹⁸¹ The phrasings in all of these cases also emphasize the verticality of these images by drawing the reader’s attention to both the base and the top, thereby forcing the reader to trace that vertical line in their imagination. Chapter B:1 (R59) also uses terms like *ji* 積 (accumulate/pile up/long-standing) and *ke* 克 (win over/restrain/overcome an enemy) which trigger our embodied experiences of piling objects high and winning over an enemy by gaining the upper position in a fight. If one was reading these phrases through the lens of *yin-yang* pairs, one would not see that all of these phrases had verticality in common, and were perhaps expounding on a common theme. Instead, one would either end up with a variety

¹⁸⁰ Henricks, *Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching*, 63 and 210. Henricks explains that the line containing the phrase “a height of 800 feet” exists in two forms: “千里之行” and “百千(刃)之高.” The Guodian edition is damaged at this point in the text, and so it is not clear which version of the line it may have contained. However, he makes the argument that “千里之行” is *only* found in the Heshanggong recension, whereas “百千(刃)之高” is found in both Mawangdui editions, the Yan Zun and Xiang’er lineages, and the original Wang Bi recension, and is therefore a more likely candidate. Of course, it is impossible to know what was in the mind of the author(s)/complier(s) of the Guodian *Laozi*, however I also offer that if my theory of verticality as a suitable perspective for the Guodian *Laozi* is correct, then ‘height’ would be a better choice than ‘distance,’ and if the author had the Vertical Orientation schema in mind (consciously or unconsciously) then he might choose the height metaphor over the distance metaphor in this case.

¹⁸¹ See Section 3.1.2.

of miscellaneous pairings, a mix of pairings and other metaphors, or simply overlook these images altogether.

In the TYSS, I found implicit vertical images C:5 (TYSS slips 1–8), which I investigated earlier for the explicit vertical images created by *tian* 天 (heaven) and *di* 地 (earth). However, this time I looked at it in terms of Robert Henricks and Xing Wen’s ideas about *shenming* 神明. In his article, “Lun Guodian Laozi yu jinben Laozi bu zhu yixi,” Xing Wen claims that *shenming* 神明 should be read as *shenqi* 神祇, or “the gods of heaven and earth.”¹⁸² Robert Henricks agrees with Xing Wen.¹⁸³ This reading adds an element of verticality to what was previously just read as ‘spirits’ or ‘spirits and luminaries.’ While not strong evidence of verticality on its own, it does add another layer of vertical images to the growing pool, and relates nicely to *shang* 上, *xia* 下, *tian* 天 and *di* 地.

Finally, one important chapter that almost slips under the radar for verticality is A:17 (R55). In this chapter, a newborn baby is described as a virtuous ideal: “One who embraces the fullness of virtue May be compared to a newborn babe. [...] His bones are soft and his muscles are pliant, yet his grasp is firm. He does not yet know of the mating of female and male, [yet] his penis stiffens (未知牝牡之合陽怒). This is because his essence is at its height.”¹⁸⁴ Section 4 has already shown how these images of the baby relate to our embodied experiences of verticality; however, what is most interesting here and for the purposes of this thesis is the form of the term *yang* 陽 used in the Guodian *Laozi*:

¹⁸² Xing Wen, “Lun Guodian Laozi yu jinben Laozi bu zhu yixi—Chujian ‘Taiyi shengshui’ ji qi yiyi” 論郭店〈老子〉與今本〈老子〉不屬一系—楚簡〈太一生水〉及其意義 *Zhongguo zhexue* 20 (October 1998): 165–169.

¹⁸³ Henricks, *Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching*, 218.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, 72 and 74. Note that while Henricks translated *zhi* 至 as ‘height,’ it literally means ‘the farthest extreme,’ and so is not a verticality reference.

In the Wang Bi recension, the word *quan* (全 complete) is substituted for *juan* (脛, penis), which makes sense only as a phonetic loan. Where other editions have 脛 (*juan*), the Guodian slips have an unknown character, [勿 with a 上 on top], which is understood to be *ran* (然). I suspect this is a variant of *yang* (陽), which, like *juan*, means the penis. [...] On the identification of [勿 with a 上 on top] and 陽 (*yang*)—*yang* is written without the radical in “Taiyishengshui”, and in the present case I suspect that 上 (*shang*) has replaced 日 (*ri*) as the top part of the character. Teng Rensheng shows that 陽 (*yang*) was sometimes written with an additional element on top, an element that could be mistaken for 上 (*shang*), but which would probably be transcribed as 止 (*zhi*). So the copyist might be writing that form of *yang*, omitting, however, the element 日 (*ri*).¹⁸⁵

Looking at the TYSS on the bamboo strips, I did indeed find that every instance of *yang* 陽 is written as *wu* 勿 with a *shang* 上 on top, rather than the expected *ri* 日 radical (as in 陽 or 易). This adds a whole new dimension to the discussion of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 as originating in the vertical orientation schema.

It was quite liberating to follow Wim De Reu's approach in this analysis. I found myself more willing to follow avenues of research that may or may not ‘pay off’ in terms of confirming what I had hoped to find. It also led me to some discoveries I doubt I would have come across any other way, for example, the discrepancy between image schemas in the three different *Laozi* bundles and overall fewer references to verticality in the *Laozi* B.

Looking to the metadata, a very general overall picture emerges as to where and how the vertical orientation schema was used in the Guodian *Laozi*. In *Laozi* A, I found a total of 59 vertical references or allusions. 32 of these are found in the sections described as having ‘ruling the state’ as the main theme. 23 are found in the ‘cosmological’ sections and 4 in the section on

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, 73 and 211–212. Henricks also notes: “For the identification as *ran*, see *Guodian Chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡, note 71 on page 116. On the identification of [勿 with a 上 on top], see *Guodian Chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡, page 13, slip 2). For the writing of *shang* [上] in this way, see Duan Yucai 段玉裁, *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注 (*Annotated Shuowen Jiezi*), Taiwan 台灣: Ding yuan wenhua chubanshe 頂淵文化出版社, IA.3a, page 2 and Teng Rensheng, ed., *Chuxi jianbo wenzibian* 楚系簡帛文字編 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995), 738.

‘self-cultivation.’ It is of interest to note that in the ‘cosmological’ sections, 17 of the 23 references occur in A:11 (R25), and all of these are multiple references to *tian* 天, *di* 地, *da* 大. Setting that one verse aside, the ‘cosmological’ sections are left with only 6 total instances. The *Laozi* B has 37 vertical references or allusions, which shockingly all fall solely into the four chapters I labelled as being related to ‘ruling the state’ (26 instances) and only one other chapter (B:5/R41 containing 11 instances)—which instantly merited closer attention! It turns out that 8 of the 11 instances were references to *da* 大. The *Laozi* C has 51 total instances, with 33 found in the TYSS material, and 18 in the rest of the *Laozi* C material. These numbers and distributions are very promising for my argument that verticality is a useful schema for rulership in the era of the Guodian *Laozi*.

At this point, I could finally see the full applicability of my new lens. By reading the received *Laozi* through the lens of *yin* and *yang*, scholars have been using a certain list of entailments, like light/dark, up/down, etc. However, applying cognitive science showed that all of these entailments can be derived from the Vertical Orientation Schema. By using the *yin-yang* lens, many scholars have ended up focusing on sets of complementary opposites. However, the Guodian *Laozi* contains many fewer chapters than the received text, and based on the themes present and absent in this edition, reading simply it in terms of ‘complementary opposites’ does not make as much sense. As previously discussed (particularly in the context of *que* 缺 and *ying* 盈, and *jing* 經, but also in terms of the ‘height/distance of 800 feet,’ the tower, and the growing plants), when choosing appropriate metaphors for these phrases through *yin* and *yang*, one can end up with a miscellany of metaphors: phases of the moon, weaving, distance, height, and agriculture. Individually, these phrases are all plausibly read that way. However, by looking at these same phrases through the Vertical Orientation image schema, they suddenly all relate to a

single metaphor: verticality. Therefore, by reading the Guodian *Laozi* through the Vertical Orientation schema, and treating the *yin-yang* pairs as by-products of verticality rather than an infinite set of complimentary opposites, not only are relevant ‘*yin-yang*’ images preserved, but new images emerge as relevant, and the various images and chapters can unified under a single metaphor which is appropriate to the key topic of the Guodian *Laozi*: rulership.

I would need to repeat this exercise with the received *Laozi* to determine if it is also better read through the new lens. However, it could be that the received *Laozi* and the Guodian *Laozi* are different enough editions to merit different lenses. For example, the additional material, different wordings, and textual ordering found in the received *Laozi* changes the focus of the text away from rulership, and onto more cosmological themes. It is also possible that *yin-yang* became more important later on, when the *Laozi* was divided into its present 81 chapters, since the number 81 was based on *yin-yang* considerations.¹⁸⁶

6 Conclusion

The Guodian archeological site was a stunning find for all scholars interested in Warring States philosophy. Not only did it contain many ‘lost’ books, and the oldest known edition of the *Laozi*, but it forced a dramatic rethinking of the intellectual history of the Warring States. As a result, the traditional definitions of philosophical schools, and the demarcations between them have started to fall. Terms like ‘Daoist’ and ‘Confucian’ have begun to lose their meaning, as modern scholars realize the fluidity of ideas among Warring States philosophers.

A rethinking of the Warring States philosophical schools also encourages a rethinking of the purpose of their texts, and the lenses through which their texts are best read. By considering the Guodian *Laozi* and TYSS as one text, which is what the archeological evidence suggests, the possibility of the received *Laozi* as *ur* text is simply unfeasible. The myth of Laozi the man

¹⁸⁶ See Henricks, *Lao Tzu's Tao Te Ching*, 8–9.

writing the *Laozi* as one complete 5000-character book just does not hold water. Instead, it is much more likely that the received *Laozi* was not a complete text in the Warring States.

Most Western scholars agree that the *Laozi* of the Warring States was likely small groups of lines or aphorisms, passed around orally in various sequences, and sometimes written down. If the Guodian *Laozi* was either a unique collection of these oral units, or a proto-version of a later, more elaborate edition of the text, it seems completely reasonable that it could have been assembled to suit a particular theme, such as ruling the state. The thematic analysis certainly supports this conclusion: almost every single verse contained either explicit or implicit themes of rulership. The image of the ideal ruler produced by these references is also clear and coherent.

I have presented evidence to support the idea that the Guodian *Laozi* was a tool for rulership, meant for use by the crown prince Qingxiang of Chu, near the fall of the Warring States. The archeological dating of the Guodian tomb, the tentative dating of the key philosophical idea of *Taiyi*, the image of the ruler, the specific themes both present and absent in the Guodian *Laozi*, and the corroboration of the material in the other Guodian texts all support this conclusion. While a lone match in any of these areas may be considered a coincidence, a match in all of them merits serious consideration.

Such a reframing of the text also called for a reframing of the lens through which the text has traditionally been read. By reframing the *yin-yang* metaphor into the Vertical Orientation Schema, I have been able to both preserve the traditional *yin-yang* metaphorical entailments, and offer new images that better reflect the predominance of rulership themes in the Guodian edition. The image of the ruler painted in the Guodian *Laozi* is one who embodies all of the biologically ‘adaptive’ entailments of the metaphor, while strategically employing the ‘maladaptive’

entailments to his advantage. He ‘leads’ by following, he ‘instructs’ by listening, and he maintains his ‘superior’ position and status by appearing humble, flawed, clumsy, and dull.

It all fits the situation of prince Qingxiang. Prince Qingxiang knew the socio-political situation he would face upon assuming the throne. The kingdom was in decline, and facing a hostile takeover by Qin. He saw his father struggle to control the powerful and corrupt aristocracy, and ultimately fail. He knew that purely legalistic and forceful tactics would not work: he saw the idealistic Qu Yuan banished, and likely heard the much worse fate of Wu Qi decades earlier. The only reasonable approach was to ‘make nice’ with the aristocracy. If he could convince them they had power and authority through his deferential behavior, his position as king (and his life) would be safe... and perhaps he would have a chance to save his kingdom.

7 Annotated Translations

The translations in this section were included for the convenience of the reader. They are all relevant to the arguments made in Section 3.1.2 regarding the changing use of the term *Taiyi* over time.

7.1 Notes on Translation

Square brackets in the Chinese text indicate that characters have been added to fill in the spaces left by missing or damaged characters in the original document. Square brackets in the English translation indicate where I have had to add words for the sake of clarity. For some of the texts, I have also included translation notes as well as relevant commentary (e.g. from the *Guodian Chumu Zhujian*) beneath my translations and marked them with capital letters in brackets, e.g. (A). For ease of reference, I have labeled commentaries and their respective pages numbers in short form, e.g. *Guodian Chumu Zhujian* page 124 is labeled ‘GCZ 124.’ The English translations of the commentaries are my own.

When it comes to Chu era bamboo texts, it is important to note that there are many difficulties inherent their in translation. In many cases, they include characters that are no longer used, and scholars must guess as to their meaning by comparing their use to other texts which contain those terms. In many cases, the strips are damaged, and key characters are (wholly or partially) missing or obscured. Scholars must again make a guess as to which characters would be most likely to be missing, based on context or on other versions of the text (if they exist). In addition, Chu script was not standardized, and characters with similar sound or components were often substituted for each other. Finally, due to the fact that the texts are written on bamboo slips whose strings often rot away over time, and whose ends may be broken or damaged, the process of arranging the strips into their original order is also difficult. Unless the text matches perfectly

with a received version, errors are easy to make. All of these difficulties lead to translations that are tenuous at best, and filled with suggestions for alternative readings.

My translation of the TYSS is based on the *Guodian Chumu Zhujian*.¹⁸⁷ In the Chinese text, the characters in brackets, except where explicitly marked, are those supplied by the collators of the *Guodian Chumu Zhujian*. Where two (or more) possible readings exist, I have chosen to include both character suggestions, but then only translated the one I thought was most suitable. After careful analysis, I have agreed with Robert Henricks that Slip 9 should be moved from its *Guodian Chumu Zhujian* placement to after Slips 10–12, and have placed it accordingly.¹⁸⁸ I also referred to Henricks' English translation of the TYSS to ensure my translation was accurate.¹⁸⁹

For all of the other texts, I used the Gugong Concordances (故宮【寒泉】古典文獻全文檢索資料庫 *Gu gong [Han quan] gu dian wen xian quan wen jian suo zi liao ku*) for the Chinese text, found online at <http://210.69.170.100/s25>. The Gugong Concordances is a Chinese language, full-text searchable collection of many official documents and books from the Pre-Qin to the Qing dynasty. The Concordance was created by 陳郁夫 Chen Yu-Fu and 敬啟 Jing Qi in 1999 and published by the National Palace Museum in Taiwan (Guoli gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院). In some cases, I confirmed the Chinese text with other sources, as marked.

All the English translations are all my own, however, in some cases, after I had finished my translation, I consulted with other pre-existing English translations in order to clarify sections I had difficulty with. For the *Zhuangzi*, I consulted Burton Watson. 1968. *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*. New York: Columbia University Press. However, our translations ended up

¹⁸⁷ Jingmenshi Bowuguan 荊門市博物館 (Jingmen Museum), 郭店楚墓竹簡 *Guodian Chumu zhujian* (*The Bamboo Slips from the Chu Tomb at Guodian*).

¹⁸⁸ Henricks, *Lao Tzu's Tao Te Ching*, 127–128.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

fairly different. I often simply disagreed with his translations. Watson also tends to omit difficult lines, gloss over tricky phrases, and obscure the original grammar, so I did not find his translation terribly helpful for the passages I was struggling with. For the *Chuci*, I consulted David Hawkes. 1985. *Songs of the South: An Anthology of Ancient Chinese Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets*. London: Penguin Classics and David Hawkes. 1959. *Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South*. London: Oxford University Press. While I did not often need to refer to his translations, I made great use of his footnotes and general comments, especially when it came to proper names and obscure references. For the *Lushi Chunqiu*, I consulted John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel. 2000. *The Annals of Lü Buwei*. California: Stanford University Press. While their style is much more poetic than mine, it was very helpful in confirming the basic sense of various passages.

7.2 Translations

7.2.1 *Taiyishengshui* (TYSS) 太一生水

Slips 1–8

1 大(太)一生水，水反輔(輔)大(太)一，是以成天。天反輔(輔)大(太)一，是以成隍(地)。天隍(地)[复相輔]

Taiyi gave birth to Water. Water returned to assist (A) *Taiyi*, [and] by means of this the Heavens were completed/manifested. The Heavens returned to assist *Taiyi*, [and] by means of this the Earth was completed. The Heavens and Earth [returned to assist each other] (B),

(A) GCZ 125: ‘補’ should be read as ‘輔,’ which can also be written as ‘備.’ The *Guangya* or *Expanded Erya* Dictionary’s section titled “Explaining Old Words part 2” says “備 means 助 (to help, to assist).”

(B) GCZ 125: the missing characters in this sentence can be read as “复相輔” based on context.

2 也，是以成神明輔 神明复相輔(輔)也，是以成𡩊(陰)曷(陽)。𡩊(陰)曷(陽)复相輔(輔)也，是以成四時。四時

[and] by means of this the Spirits and Luminaries were completed. The Spirits and Luminaries returned to assist each other, [and] by means of this *Yin* and *Yang* were completed. *Yin* and *Yang*

returned to assist each other, [and] by means of this the Four Seasons were completed. The Four Seasons

(C) GCZ 126: the *Zhou Yi*'s "Shuo Gua" ("Discussion of the Trigrams") chapter states: "One who lives by surreptitiously receiving the assistance of the Spirits and Luminaries" and the *Zhuangzi* chapter 33 "All Under Heaven" separates *shenming* into two separate entities by asking "Spirits descend due to what? Luminaries are emitted due to what?"

(D) 四時 often refers to 'year,' but here it can't because '歲' is already being used here to refer to 'year.'
GCZ 126: '四時' refers to the four seasons of Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter.

3 复[相]輔(輔)也，是以成倉(滄)然(熱)。倉(滄)然(熱)复[相]輔(輔)也，是以成濕燥(燥)。
濕燥(燥)复相輔(輔)也，成載(歲)

returned to assist each other (E), [and] by means of this Cold and Hot (F) were completed. Cold and Hot returned to assist each other, [and] by means of this Wet and Dry (G) were completed. Wet and Dry returned to assist each other, completing the Yearly Cycle (H)

(E) GCZ 126: according to the surrounding context, there is a character missing after '復' (returned), which should be '相' (mutually).

(F) GCZ 126: '倉' should be read as '滄.' The character '滄' (dark blue), when put in contrast to '熱' (heat/hot), must mean 'cold.' The *Shuowen* says '倉' means '冬' or 'cold winter-time temperatures.'

(G) GCZ 126: '燥' should be read as '燥' (dry) even though the *Shuo Wen* says '燥' means '乾' (cold).

(H) GCZ 126: '載' is Chu script for '歲' because the Tang Dynasty tradition says it means '載' (year) and the *Erya*'s chapter called "Explaining Heaven" says '載' means '歲' (year). The Sun Commentary says "When the four seasons all come to an end, this is called a year."

4 而止。古(故)載(歲)者，濕燥(燥)之所生也。濕燥(燥)者，倉(滄)然(熱)之所生也。
倉(滄)然(熱)者，[四時] 5 者，陰(陰)曷(陽)之所生也。陰(陰)曷(陽)者，神明之所生也。
神明者，天陸(地)之所生也。天陸(地) 6 者，大(太)一之所生也是古(故)，大(太)一覽(藏)於水，行於時，逝(周)而或(又)[始，以己為]

and that's all. Therefore the year [is] generated by Wet and Dry. Wet and Dry [are] generated by Cold and Hot. Cold and Hot [are] generated by the Four Seasons. The Four Seasons [are] generated by *Yin* and *Yang*. *Yin* and *Yang* [are] generated by the Spirits and Luminaries. The Spirits and Luminaries [are] generated by Heaven and Earth. Heaven and Earth [are] generated by *Taiyi*. For this reason, *Taiyi* is stored/concealed in water, [and] moves in the [four] seasons. Making a circuit and then starting again, [it] takes itself to be (I)

(I) GCZ 126: I suspect it is permissible to read '逝' as '周' (to make a circuit), and '或' as '又' (again).

After that, there is a character missing that ought to be '始' (to begin). Therefore, the meaning of '周而又始' is the same as '周而復始' (to make a circuit and then start again)."

7 孺(萬)勿(物)母。𡗗(一)缺(缺)𡗗(一)涅(盈), 以忌(紀/己)為孺(萬)勿(物)經。此天之所不能殺, 陸(地)之所

the mother of the ten thousand things. In turns [going] under [and] over (J), [it] takes itself to be (K) the warp (M) of the ten thousand things. This [is] what Heaven is not able to weaken (L), what Earth

(J) GCZ 126: ‘𡗗’ should be read as ‘一.’ This character also appears in the bamboo text the *Wu Xing* and the *Shijing*’s song “Cao feng: Shi jiu (The Turtle Doves), which both say: “The gentle man, the Junzi, his appearance is [properly] uniform.” This can be used to prove that ‘𡗗’ ought to be read as ‘一.’

Based on the comments of the GCZ, this phrase should be treated as ‘一缺一盈.’ Since the grammatical structure ‘一X一Y’ can be read as either ‘simultaneously X and Y’ or ‘alternating X and Y,’ and since the set of terms ‘缺’ and ‘盈’ can refer to ‘empty/waning’ and ‘full/waxing,’ or ‘under’ and ‘over,’ I chose to translate ‘一X一Y’ as ‘alternating, and ‘缺’ and ‘盈’ as ‘under’ and ‘over’ to suit the weaving metaphor indicated by the term ‘經’ (‘warp’) later in the sentence. For more on identifying ‘一缺一盈’ as a weaving metaphor, rather than a moon metaphor (as would be indicated by choosing to define ‘缺’ and ‘盈’ as ‘empty’ and ‘full’), see (M) below, and Section 5.

(K) GCZ 126: ‘忌’ should be read as ‘紀’ (discipline or to record). In the *Guodian Chumu Zhujuan*, we find that Qiu disagrees with the other editors: he suspects that ‘忌’ should be read as ‘己’ (itself). Based on the similarities between these lines and the *Laozi*, for the time being I tend to favor this reading.

(L) GCZ 126: Regarding] ‘殺,’ the *Yili* “Shi Guan Li” has the phrase ‘德之殺也’ and the commentary claims the meaning is similar to ‘衰’ ([make] weak, decline). The *Zhouli* chapter “Lin Ren” has the phrase ‘詔王殺邦用’ and the commentary claims the meaning is similar to ‘減’ (moat around).

(M) As mentioned before, in weaving, the warp is the set of fixed vertical parallel yarns through which the weft is woven. When weaving with a loom, the warp yarns are fully attached before weaving begins. The mixed and stable warp provides the ‘framework,’ and the weft, once woven repeatedly over and under the warp strings, makes the ‘pattern’ and completely hides the warp strings.

8 不能釐(埋/釐), 𡗗(陰)曷(陽)之所不能成君子智(知)此之胃(謂). . . .

[is] not able to change (N), what *Yin* and *Yang* are not able to complete. The Junzi knows this [is] called...

(N) According to Robert G. Henricks. 2000. *Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching*. NY: Columbia

University Press, 126. ‘釐’ should be read as ‘埋’ (to bury or cover up, e.g. with earth, snow, etc.)

Most of the GCZ 126 comment regarding this character is untranslatable due to the number of non-extant characters, however, I have managed to ascertain that “Bamboo texts use the character ‘釐,’ which means ‘釐.’ The *Ancient Script Four Tone Rhyme Book* quotes the *Ancient Book of History* in saying that ‘釐’ was written ‘𡗗.’ In Bronze script ‘釐’ is written as ‘𡗗’ on a Chen state Gui vessel, and the form of this Bronze script character is similar to the form of the character found in the bamboo texts. The *Hou Han Shu*’s chapter titled “Liang Tong Zhuan” has the phrase ‘豈一朝所釐’ and the commentary claims that the meaning is similar to ‘改’ (change). However, it is important to note here that the *Ancient Book of History* (a.k.a. The Guwen version of the *Shang Shu*), which was reportedly found in the walls of Confucius’ house, is generally considered a Han forgery, and therefore not a terribly reliable source of Warring States information.

Slips 10–12

10 下,土也,而胃(謂)之陸(地)。上,𩇛(氣)也,而胃(謂)之天。道亦其𩇛(過/字)也。青(請)昏(問)其名。以

[What is] below [is] soil, but [we] call it Earth. [What is] above [is] air, but [we] call it Heaven. [It] takes ‘*Dao*’ [as] its designation (O). Please may I ask its name? [One who] takes

(O) GCZ 126: ‘𩇛’ follows the sound of *xin* and *hua*, and so we used this as a pretext to read the character as ‘過’ (to pass through or beyond).

11 道從事者必𩇛(訛/託)其名,古(故)事成而身長。聖人之從事也,亦𩇛(託)其

the *Dao* to engage in affairs, necessarily trusts in its name, Therefore [his] affairs are complete and [his] body [lives] long. [When] the sage’s engaging in affairs, [he] also necessarily trusts in

(P) According to his Chinese transcription, Robert G. Henricks believes ‘𩇛’ should be read as ‘訛’ (to cheat) but his English translation reflects the definition of ‘托’ (to rely on). Robert G. Henricks. 2000. *Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching*. NY: Columbia University Press, 124 and 126. Edward Slingerland, in a private communication, indicated that this term could mean “to temporarily lodge,” which would make this phrase “it necessarily temporarily takes it for its name.” The GCZ 125 uses ‘託’ (to trust), with no explanation.

12 名,古(故)𩇛(功)成而身不𩇛(傷)。天陸(地)名𩇛(字)并立,古(故)𩇛(過)其方,不思相
□□□[當], /

its name, therefore [his] work/merit is accomplished and [his] body is not harmed/distressed. [Regarding] Heaven and Earth, [their] names and designations stand side by side, therefore [if we] go beyond these areas, [we] cannot think [of something] appropriate [to serve as a name] (Q).

(Q) GCZ 126: As for ‘思,’ in the *Jianwen* it is distinguished from ‘田,’ and we take it to be ‘思.’ The Baoshan Chu bamboo strips have the phrase ‘思攻,’ this ‘思’ character is considered to be the same as in the *Jianwen*. Qiu disagrees: “As for the character after ‘相,’ it is damaged, but the topmost part of it still survives. Considering to the remaining strokes, as well as the surrounding context, the rhyme groups, and the remainder of the text, this necessarily is the character ‘尚’ another character that takes the ‘尚’ phonetic, and therefore it ought to be read as ‘當.’ Furthermore, ‘不思相當’ should be read as one sentence. As for the three missing characters following that, according to the text’s meaning, they ought to be ‘天不足’ or ‘天□□,’ and along with the next strip’s phrase ‘於西北,’ should be read together as one sentence. From the phrase ‘故事成而身長’ to the end of the text, the rhyme type is that of nasalized sounds (*yang* sounds), i.e. the rhyme group is: 長、傷、方、當、強、□、上.

Slip 9

9 天道貴𩇛(弱), 雀(爵/削/摧)成者以益生者,伐於𩇛(強),責於... /

Heaven’s Way values weakness (R). Cutting away (S) at [what is] complete in order to add on to [what is] alive (OR: Cutting at Completeness in order to increase Life)(T) [is like] striking down in violence (U), punishing in... [in order to...]

(R) This phrase sounds like the received *Laozi* Chapters R43 and R76: “The softest, most pliable (弱) thing in the world runs roughshod over the firmest (強) thing in the world” and “Rigidity and power occupy the inferior position; Suppleness, softness, weakness, and delicateness occupy the superior position.” Henricks, *Lao-Tzu Te-Tao Ching*, 12 and 47, respectively.

(S) GCZ 125 has ‘爵’ for ‘雀,’ with no explanation. Robert G. Henricks (*Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching*, 127–129) suggests that ‘雀’ should be read as ‘削’ (to pare or peel with a knife; cut; chop). Henricks also suggests an alternate reading of ‘摧’ (knock, beat, strike), as this could relate better to the story of Gong Gong striking what is complete (i.e. the originally intact pillar of heaven and severing Earth’s cord). For the full description of the Gong Gong myth, see my comments about TYSS in the main text of Section 3.1.2.

(T) This phrase sounds a lot like the received *Laozi* Chapter R55: “To add on to life (益生) is called a ‘bad omen’; for the mind to control the breath—that’s called ‘forcing (強) things.’” Henricks, *Lao-Tzu Te-Tao Ching*, 24. Here, it again sounds like a negative thing, since it is being compared to “striking down in violence.”

(U) This reference to “striking down in violence” is perhaps referring to the violence of Gong Gong as he smashed down the pillar of Heaven. This strip appears to carry an admonition to those who would act as he did.

Slips 13–14

13[天不足]於西北，其下高以彊(強)。隍(地)不足於東南，其上. /

14[不足於上]者，又(有)余(余/餘)於下。不足於下者，又(有)余(余/餘)[於上。] /

Heaven is not sufficient in the North West, its lower [part]/underneath [i.e. the earth] is high by means of force/violence. (V) Earth is not sufficient in the North East, its upper [part]/above [i.e. Heaven/the sky] [is high by means of violence]. (W) Not [being] sufficient in the upper [part]/above (X), there is surplus (Y) in lower [part]/underneath. [Not [being] sufficient in the lower [part]/below], there is surplus in upper [part]/above. (Z)

(V) This is referring to the violence of Gong Gong as he smashed the pillar. See my comments in the main text of Section 3.1.2.

(W) This part of the text is missing, and I keep trying to reconstruct the geometry to figure out if Heaven would be low or high in the North-East, but it is very difficult to do. Based on Section 3.1.2, I know Heaven is low and the Earth is high in the North-West, and the waters run to the South-East, so the Earth must be low there. If the Earth is low in the South-East, and the pillars of the South-East cannot reach Heaven, perhaps Heaven would be high there. For the time being, I will go with ‘high,’ however I am ready to stand corrected.

(X) GCZ 126: “This place omits approximately seven characters, according to the examples in the text, we can emend the last four characters to be ‘不足於上.’”

(Y) Henricks suggests 余 should be left as 余 (surplus). Henricks, *Lao Tzu Tao Te Ching*, 129. GCZ 126: suggests 余 should be read as 餘, which also means ‘extra’ or ‘surplus,’ but offers no explanation as to why.

(Z) This sounds like the *Laozi*: “The Way of Heaven is like the flexing of a bow. The high it presses down; the low it raises up. From those with a surplus it takes away; to those without enough it adds on. Therefore the Way of Heaven is to reduce the excessive and increase the insufficient.” (Chapter R77)

7.2.2 *Yili* 儀禮 Chapter 8: “Pin Li 聘禮” (Note 6)

禮，不拜至。醴尊于東箱，瓦大一，有豐。薦脯五臠，祭半臠，橫之。祭醴，再扱，始扱一祭，卒再祭。主人之庭實，則主人遂以出，賓之士訝受之。

[Regarding] Ritual, [it is] not [merely] a courtesy call reaching to the extreme limits. [When] sweet wine [and] wine vessels [are] in [their] owner's box, [and] covered by *Taiyi*, there is abundance. A straw mat [holds] dried meat and fruit [and] the five dried or pickled meats. [If a person were to] hold a sacrifice for [only] half of the dried or pickled meats, [we would consider] him perverse. [In] offering a sacrifice for the sweet wine, offer [it] twice: in the beginning offer one sacrificial offering, at the end, offer a sacrifice a second [time]. [This is] the reality of the host's court. Then the host fulfills [his duty] by [causing] it to come out, [and] the guest's scholar-official is surprised at receiving it.

7.2.3 *Liji* 禮記 Chapter 9 “Li Yun 禮運”

是故夫禮，必本於大一，分而為天地，轉而為陰陽，變而為四時，列而為鬼神。其降曰命，其官於天也。夫禮必本於天，動而之地，列而之事，變而從時，協於分藝，其居人也曰養，其行之以貨力、辭讓、飲食、冠昏、喪祭、射御、朝聘。

For this reason, in regards to Ritual, [it] necessarily [has its] root in *Taiyi*. [It] divides and [thereby] becomes Heaven and Earth, [it] revolves and [thereby] becomes *yin* and *yang*, [it] changes and [thereby] becomes the four seasons, [it is] arranged by rank and becomes the ghosts and spirits. Its descending [to Earth can be] called ‘the Heavenly Mandate.’ Its officiated by Heaven.¹⁹⁰ In general, regarding Ritual necessarily [having its] root in Heaven, [it] moves and goes to Earth, [is] arranged by rank and goes to [human] affairs, [it] transforms and follows the [four] seasons, [it] coordinates/harmonizes in the division [of the four] skills. Its residing in man [is] called ‘nurturing,’ its being put into practice [is] by means of [the domains] of goods, labour, yielding or deferential speech, drink [and] food, capping [and] marriage rituals, mourning rituals [and] making sacrificial offerings, archery [and] chariot driving, appearing in court [and] appointing the positions of employment.

7.2.4 *Zhuangzi* 莊子 “Lie Yu Kou 列禦寇”

小夫之知，不離苞苴竿牘，敝精神乎蹇淺，而欲兼濟道物，太一形虛。若是者，迷惑於宇宙，形累不知太初。彼至人者，歸精神乎無始，而甘冥乎無何有之鄉。水流乎無形，發泄乎太清。悲哉乎！汝為知在毫毛，而不知大寧！

The Petty man's knowledge does not go beyond cattail bags for wrapping gifts and bamboo strips for writing correspondences. [He] wears out [his] spirit on the lame [and] superficial, and [yet] desires to concurrently benefit the *Dao*, [the ten thousand] things, [and] *Taiyi* [in its simultaneous] form and emptiness. One who is like this, [wanders around] baffled in the universe,

¹⁹⁰ The grammar of this sentence makes it a little awkward and perhaps obscures the meaning. The meaning is that heaven acts like an officer, making it the source of authority over *Taiyi*.

[his] body tired, not knowing the Great Beginning. [In contrast,] one who is a Perfected Man, returns [his] spirit to the Not-Having-a-Beginning, and willingly [goes] deep into the Village of Not-Having-What-Exists. [He is like] water flowing in the Formless, issued out from the Great Purity. How sad! You are knowledgeable in the tip of a hair, but not in the Great Tranquility!

7.2.5 Zhuangzi 莊子 “Tian Xia 天下” Quote 1

以本為精，以物為粗，以有積為不足，澹然獨與神明居，古之道術有在於是者。關尹、老聃聞其風而悅之，建之以常無有，主之以太一，以濡弱謙下為表，以空虛不毀萬物為實。關尹曰：「在己無居，形物自著。其動若水，其靜若鏡，其應若響。芴乎若亡，寂乎若清，同焉者和，得焉者失。未嘗先人而常隨人。」老聃曰：「知其雄，守其雌，為天下谿；知其白，守其辱，為天下谷。」人皆取先，己獨取後，曰受天下之垢；人皆取實，己獨取虛，無藏也故有餘，歸然而有餘。其行身也，徐而不費，無為也而笑巧；人皆求福，己獨曲全，曰苟免於咎。以深為根，以約為紀，曰堅則毀矣，銳則挫矣。常寬容於物，不削於人，可謂至極。關尹、老聃乎！古之博大真人哉！

To take the root to be pure; to take [the ten thousand] things to be coarse; to take [what you] have amassed as insufficient; to tranquilly, alone with the spirits and luminaries, dwell; [those people who] in ancient times [were] ‘skilled at the *Dao*’ had [their] existence in this. Guan Yin [and] Lao Dan heard of its practice and delighted in it. [When designing their Way¹⁹¹, they] established it by means of a constant Non-existence. [They] managed/directed it by means of *Taiyi*, by means of [making] displays of immersing themselves in weakness [and] modestly [making themselves] lower [than others], [and] by means of [becoming like] the empty void [and thereby] not damaging the ten thousand things’ [material] reality.

7.2.6 Zhuangzi 莊子 “Tian Xia 天下” Quote 2

惠施多方，其書五車，其道舛駁，其言也不中。麻物之意，曰：「至大無外，謂之大一；至小無內，謂之小一。無厚，不可積也，其大千里。天與地卑，山與澤平。」

Hui Shi had many devices, his writings [could fill] five chariots, [but] his Way had errors and contradictions, [and] his words did not hit the mark. [Regarding his] calculating of things’ meaning, [he] says [things like]: “Reaching to the limits of the Great not having [anything] beyond [it], [is] called the *Taiyi*. Reaching to the limits of the Small not having [anything] within [it], [is] called [it] the Small Unity. [What] does not have thickness [is] not accumulated, [yet] its largeness [is] 10 000 *li*. Heaven and Earth [are both] low. Mountains and pools [are at the same] level.

¹⁹¹ According to tradition, Guan Yin was the keeper of the Hangu Pass, who implored Laozi to write down his wisdom before he left China. Laozi obliged, and the book he was supposed to have written on the spot was the *Dao De Jing* (also known as the *Laozi*).

7.2.7 Zhuangzi 莊子 “Xu Wu Gui 徐無鬼”

故目之於明也殆，耳之於聰也殆，心之於殉也殆。凡能其於府也殆，殆之成也不給改。禍之長也茲萃，其反也緣功，其果也待久。而人以為己寶，不亦悲乎！故有亡國戮民無已，不知問是也。故足之於地也踐，雖踐，恃其所不蹶而後善博也；人之於知也少，雖少，恃其所不知而後知天之所謂也。知大一，知大陰，知大目，知大均，知大方，知大信，知大定，至矣。大一通之，大陰解之，大目視之，大均緣之，大方體之，大信稽之，大定持之。

Therefore the eye's clarity [is] a danger, the ear's hearing [is] a danger, [and] the heart-mind's dying for a cause [is] a danger. In general, [his] being capable [while] his [being] in governmental office [is] a danger, [and] danger's completion does not provide a rectification [of the situation]. [Because] disaster's development [has been] currently assembling, [even when] its reversal [is] on the brink of being achieved, its results [still require] waiting a long time. And men consider [these abilities] to be their own treasures, [is it] not also [so] sad! Therefore states perish, the common people are slain, the Self is lost, [and all because men] do not to know to ask about this. Therefore [regarding] the foot's [act of] treading on the earth: although it treads [on the ground], it depends on that [part of the earth] which it does not trample, and then only afterwards [can it become] good and plentiful. People's [collection] of knowledge [is] small, [and] although [it is] small, [they must still] rely on that which they do not know and only afterwards [can they] understand that which Heaven refers to. To know the *Taiyi*, to know the Great *Yin*, to know the Great Eye, to know the Great Equality, to know the Great Method, to know the Great Trustworthiness, to know the Great Stability, is reaching the limits already. The *Taiyi* understands/connects to it, the Great *Yin* explains it, the Great Eye inspects it, the Great Equality reasons it, the Great Method embodies it, the Great Trustworthiness checks/investigates it, [and] the Great Stability grasps it.

7.2.8 Xunzi 荀子 “Li Lun 禮論”

大饗，尚玄尊，俎生魚，先大羹，貴食飲之本也。饗，尚玄尊而用酒醴，先黍稷而飯稻粱。祭，齊大羹而飽庶羞，貴本而親用也。貴本之謂文，親用之謂理，兩者合而成文，以歸大一，夫是之謂大隆。

[For] a great [sacrificial] banquet, [cause to be] high the black goblet, [and ensure] the stand for food sacrifice [has] raw fish [on it], [then place] first [and foremost] the great soup [made of plain meat broth. This is how you] value the root of food and drink. [For an ordinary sacrificial] banquet, [cause to be] high the black goblet and use alcohol and sweet wine, [then place] first [and foremost] the broom-corn [glutinous] millet and [regular] millet, and eat paddy rice and large grained millet. [For] offering a sacrifice [to one's ancestors], sip the great soup and eat until [you are] satisfied a multitude of offerings. [This is *both*] valuing the root and embracing the practical. Valuing the root [is] called 'Culture,' embracing the practical [is] called 'reasonable.' [When] these two combine, and complete Culture, [and] by these means return to *Taiyi*—this [is] called the Great Exaltation.

[A little later in the chapter:]

凡禮，始乎稅，成乎文，終乎悅校。故至備，情文俱盡；其次，情文代勝；其下復情以歸大一也。天地以合，日月以明，四時以序，星辰以行，江河以流，萬物以昌，好惡以節，喜怒以當，以為下則順，以為上則明，萬變不亂，賁之則喪也。禮豈不至矣哉！

In general, the Rites begin in unrestricted [actions], complete in culture, [and] end in dutiful confirmation. Therefore, reaching to the limits of their completion, emotions and culture [are] both exhausted; [in] their next [best form of manifestation], emotions and culture [take turns at being] superior; [in] their [lowest form], emotion [alone] is used to return to the *Taiyi*. Heaven and Earth by means of [the Rites] combine, the sun and moon by means of [the Rites] illumine, the four seasons by means of [the Rites] are ordered, the stars and celestial bodies by means of [the Rites] move, the rivers by means of [the Rites] flow, the ten thousand things by means of [the Rites] flourish, likes and dislikes by means of [the Rites] are regulated, happy and angry [feelings] are by means of [the Rites are made] appropriate. [Those who are] taken to be inferior [in social status are] then [made] suitable, [those who are] taken to be superior [in social status are] then enlightened. The ten thousand transformations [are] not chaotic/unruly; [however, one who] shirks [the Rites] then will be lost. The Rites, do they not certainly reach to the limits [of perfection] already?!

7.2.9 *Han Feizi* 韓非子 Chapter 19 “Shi Xie 飾邪 (Evil Ornamentations)”

鑿龜數策，兆日大吉，而以攻燕者趙也。鑿龜數策，兆日大吉，而以攻趙者燕也。劇辛之事，燕無功而社稷危。鄒衍之事，燕無功而國道絕。趙代先得意於燕，後得意於齊，國亂節高，自以為與秦提衡，非趙龜神而燕龜欺也。趙又嘗鑿龜數策而北伐燕，將劫燕以逆秦，兆日大吉，始攻大梁而秦出上黨矣，兵至釐而六城拔矣，至陽城，秦拔鄴矣，龐援掄兵而南則鄴盡矣。臣故曰：趙龜雖無遠見於燕，且宜近見於秦。秦以其大吉，辟地有實，救燕有有名。趙以其大吉，地削兵辱，主不得意而死。又非秦龜神而趙龜欺也。初時者魏數年東鄉攻盡陶、衛，數年西鄉以失其國，此非豐隆、五行、太一、王相、攝提、六神、五括、天河、殷搶、歲星非數年在西也，又非天缺、弧逆、刑星、熒惑、奎台非數年在東也。故曰：龜策鬼神不足舉勝，左右背鄉不足以專戰。然而恃之，愚莫大焉。

Boring a hole in the tortoise [shell and] counting the yarrow stalks, [and] fortelling the day [as] very auspicious: the one who by means of [this] attacked the State of Yan [is] the state of Zhao. Boring a hole in the tortoise [shell and] counting the yarrow stalks, [and] fortelling the day [as] very auspicious: the one who by means of [this] attacked the State of Zhao [is] the State of Yan. An intensely laborious affair, the State of Yan did not have meritorious service, and [therefore] the altars of the soil and grain imperiled [them]. [As for] Zou Yan's affairs,¹⁹² Yan does not have

¹⁹² Zou Yan was a historical person who, according to the *Shiji*, attended the Ji Xia Academy in Qi around 250 BCE, where he enjoyed a better reputation than Mencius or Xunzi. He was reported to have enjoyed this good reputation in Liang 梁 (a.k.a. Wei 魏), Zhao 趙, and Yan 燕 as well. He used theories of *yin-yang* and *wuxing* to predict natural phenomenon, and had a cosmogony that was said to explain political cycles all the way back to Huang Di. In this passage of the *Han Feizi*, Zou Yan is being accused of using astrology to spreading false faith in portents. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, eds., *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: from the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 284.

meritous service and [therefore] the state's Way [was] cut off. The Zhao era first got [its] intentions [set] on the State of Yan, later it got [its] intentions [set] on the State of Qi. [Although] the state [was in] chaos [its] standards [were] high: [it] took itself to be, along with Qin, promoted to [a position of] judge [over the rulership of the land]. [This was] not [a case of] Zhao's tortoise [shell divination being properly guided by the] spirits and Yan's tortoise [shell divination causing them to be] deceived. Zhao moreover tried to bore a hole in the tortoise [shell] and count yarrow stalks [to determine an auspicious day], and [thereafter] sent out an attack force to defeat the State of Yan. [They were] about to plunder Yan as a means of opposing Qin, [and had] foretold the day [as] very auspicious, [so they] began to attack Da Liang, but Qin came out [and became] the winning party already. [Their] armies reached Li district and six cities were seized already, [they] reached Yang Cheng, [and] Qin had seized Ye district already. The innumerable [soldiers] aided and raised their weapons and [marched] South, then the State of Zhang was exhausted already. I, your Minister, therefore say: "[Regarding] the Zhao's tortoise [shell divination]: although [it did] not offer a long-distance vision for the Yan, for the time being it is suitable [to serve as a] close [approximation of a correct] vision for the Qin." The Qin, by means of their great auspiciousness, opened up [their] land to flourish, [and their act of] saving the existence of the State of Yan has reknown. [As for the] Zhao, by means of their 'great auspiciousness,' [their] land was made smaller and their armies were disgraced, [their] ruler did not get [to fulfill his] intentions and died. Moreover [this was] not [a case of] Qin's tortoise [shell divination being guided by the] spirits and Zhao's tortoise [shell divination causing them to be] deceived. At the beginning of the time [when the State of Wei was founded], the State of Wei for many years faced East [and] attacked-to-exhaustion Tao [and] Wei, [then] by means of facing West for many years, lost their state.¹⁹³ This [is] not [due to] the Master of the Clouds (Fenglong), the Row of Five Stars, the *Taiyi*, the constellation Wang Xiang, the star Sheti [in the constellation Bootes], the Six Spirits [of the Six Ancestors], the star Wu Kuo, the Milky Way, the star Yin Qiang, [and] the planet Jupiter, not [being] in the West for many years. Moreover [is] not [due to] the Tian Que, the Inverse Arc, the Great White Star (Venus), the planet Mars, [and] the Striding the Platform constellation, not [being] in the East for many years. Therefore it is said: "[By means of] the tortoise [and] yarrow, ghosts, and spirits [are] not sufficient to raise up victory successfully, [and] the [four directions of] left, right, back, [and] face/front [are] not sufficient to use for the purpose of war. However, to depend on them [is] stupid [because] none [will be made] great by it."

7.2.10 *Chuci* 楚辭 “Nine Songs 九歌: The Great Unity, God of the Eastern Sky 東皇太一”

吉日兮辰良，穆將愉兮上皇。
撫長劍兮玉珥，璆鏘鳴兮琳琅。
瑤席兮玉瑱，盍將把兮瓊芳。
蕙餽蒸兮蘭藉，奠桂酒兮椒漿。
揚枹兮拊鼓，疏緩節兮安歌，陳竽瑟兮浩倡。
靈偃蹇兮姣服，芳菲菲兮滿堂。

¹⁹³ In other words: Since all of the state's efforts were poured into the Eastern direction, in their attempt to conquer Tao and Wei, the Western district was neglected and was itself conquered (by someone else).

五音紛兮繁會，君欣欣兮樂康。¹⁹⁴

[On this] auspicious day, the occasion is good, [his] solemnity about to [turn] joyful, the High Emperor strokes the long sword [and] the jade pendants, [a] ‘*qiu qiang*’ [sound] rings out. Beautiful jade, precious jade [on his] mat/seat [are] jade plugs, why not handle the fine jade and fragrant orchids? Meat dishes, [served] by means of orchids [for decorations], settled on bay leaves and [flavoured with] wine, hot spice plants and sauces. Raise the [drumsticks made of] Konara Oak, [and] clap the drum. [Then begin to] thinly, slowly, reservedly, tranquilly sing, [and finally] lay out the wind instruments and stringed instruments [to] grandly initiate [the music]. Intelligent and standing tall and erect, [people wearing] beautiful clothes [that are] fragrant, luxurious and beautiful, fill the hall. The five notes [of music] are profuse, [they] multiply and gather, [and] the lord is joyful and enjoys his well-being.

7.2.11 *Lushi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 *Ji* 紀 (Almanacs) Book 5 Chapter 2.1: “Da Yue 大樂”

音樂之所由來者遠矣，生於度量，本於太一。太一出兩儀，兩儀出陰陽。陰陽變化，一上一下，合而成章。渾渾沌沌，離則復合，合則復離，是謂天常。天地車輪，終則復始，極則復反，莫不咸當。日月星辰，或疾或徐，日月不同，以盡其行。四時代興，或暑或寒，或短或長。或柔或剛。萬物所出，造於太一，化於陰陽。萌芽始震，凝寒以形。形體有處，莫不有聲。聲出於和，和出於適。和適先王定樂，由此而生。

What Tones and Music originated in [is] far away [in antiquity], born in degrees and measures, [and] rooted in *Taiyi*. *Taiyi* [causes] the Two Appearances¹⁹⁵ to emerge; the Two Appearances [cause] *Yin* and *Yang*’s transformations to emerge: one goes up, one goes down. [Then] joining together [they] complete order. Turbid and confused, they separate and then again combine, combine then again separate—this is called Heaven’s Constancy. Heaven and Earth [turn like a] chariot wheel, [they reach the] end, then return to the beginning; [they get to] the utmost point and then again return [to the starting point]. [In this,] none [are] not completely acting as [they should]. The sun, moon, stars, [and] celestial bodies, some move quickly [and] some move slowly. The sun and moon are not the same, [and it is] by means of [this non-sameness that they] exhaust their operations. The four seasons [each in turn] take their place [in] prevailing, now hot now cold, now short now long, now weak now strong. The ten thousand things’ that which emerged [are] created by *Taiyi*, [and] transformed by *Yin* and *Yang*. [The] shoots [and] sprouts, [first] began to shake, [then] congealed, cooled, [and] took form. [Each] form has a place, [and] none do not have a sound. Sound is emitted from harmony, harmony is emitted from suitability. [By using this] harmony and suitability, the former kings established music; due to this [music was] generated.

¹⁹⁴ David Hawkes, *Songs of the South: An Anthology of Ancient Chinese Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets*, (London: Penguin Classics, 1985), 101. Also found online at Donald Sturgeon’s Chinese Text Project, <http://chinese.dsturgeon.net/text.pl?node=51807&if=en>

¹⁹⁵ Knoblock and Riegel suggest the term “Dyadic Couple” here. Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, 136.

7.2.12 *Lushi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 *Ji* 紀 (Almanacs) Book 5 Chapter 2.4: “Da Yue 大樂”

大樂，君臣父子長少之所歡欣而說也。歡欣生於平，平生於道。道也者，視之不見，聽之不聞，不可為狀。有知不見之見、不聞之聞，無狀之狀者，則幾於知之矣。道也者，至精也，不可為形，不可為名，彊為之謂之太一。故一也者制令，兩也者從聽。先聖擇兩法一，是以知萬物之情。故能以一聽政者，樂君臣，和遠近，說黔首，合宗親。能以一治其身者，免於災，終其壽，全其天。能以一治其國者，姦邪去，賢者至，成大化。能以一治天下者，寒暑適，風雨時，為聖人。故知一則明，明兩則狂。

Great Music [is] what Rulers and Ministers, fathers and sons, the long and short [lived],¹⁹⁶ gladly enjoy. Joyousness and gladness [are] generated by balance, balance [is] generated by the *Dao*. [Regarding] the *Dao*, [it is said one can] look upon [it] but not see [it], to listen [for it] but not hear [it]; [It] cannot be made into a [tangible] image. [If someone were to] have knowledge [of] ‘not-seeing’s seeing,’ ‘not-listening’s listening,’ [and] ‘formlessness’ form,’¹⁹⁷ then how many [people] would practice in [that] knowledge? The *Dao* reaches to the limits of the refined: [it is] not possible [for it] to have a form, not possible [for it] to have a name, [if you] forcibly made me [call it something, I would] call it *Taiyi*. Therefore the One, controls and orders the Two, [which] complies and listens [to the One’s commands]. Former sages rejected the Two [and] modeled [themselves] after the One; this [was] to take/gain knowledge of the essence of the ten thousand things. Therefore [a ruler who is] able to administer the affairs of the state by means of the One, delights the Rulers and Ministers, harmonizes [those] near and far, [bring] pleasure to the common people, [and] unites the ancestors [with] their relatives. [One who is] able to rule his [own] body by means of the One, [is] exempt from disaster, [reaches] the end [of his life] in longevity, [and keeps] his Heavenly [nature] whole/intact. [One who is] able to rule his state by means of the One, [causes] malfeasance and evil to leave, [causes] virtue to reach its limits, [and] completes the Great Transformation; [One who is] able to rule all under Heaven by means of the One, [can make] cold weather and hot weather properly suitable, [and] the wind and rain [come in their proper] timing; [this one] is a Sage. Therefore [if he] understands the One, then [he will become] enlightened; [however, if he considers] the Two [to be] ‘enlightenment,’ then [he will go] mad.

7.2.13 *Lushi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 *Lan* 覽 (Examinations) Book 17 Ch 4.2: “Wu Gong 勿躬”

大橈作甲子，黔如作虜首，容成作麻，羲和作占日，尚儀作占月，后益作占歲，胡曹作衣，夷羿作弓，祝融作市，儀狄作酒，高元作室，虞姁作舟，伯益作井，赤冀作臼，乘雅作駕，寒哀作御，王冰作服牛，史皇作圖，巫彭作醫，巫咸作筮，此二十官者，聖人之所以治天下也。聖王不能二十官之事，然而使二十官盡其巧、畢其能，聖王在上故也。聖王之所不能也、所以能之也，所不知也、所以知之也。養其神、脩其德而化矣，豈必勞形愁弊耳目哉？是故聖王之德，融乎若月之始出，極燭六合而無所窮屈；昭乎若日之光，變化萬物而無所不行。神合乎太一，生無所屈，而意不可障；精通乎鬼神，深微玄妙，而莫見其形。

¹⁹⁶ i.e. the old and young.

¹⁹⁷ I kept this format to preserve the grammar. This sentence refers to someone being able to see what cannot be seen (the invisible), hear what cannot be heard (the inaudible), and sense the form of the formless.

今日南面，百邪自正，而天下皆反其情，黔首畢樂其志、安育其性、而莫為不成。故善為君者，矜服性命之情，而百官已治矣，黔首已親矣，名號已章矣。

Da Nao invented the cycle of sixty days, Qian Ru invented the *Pushou* [day], Rong Cheng invented the calendar, Yi He invented divination of [lucky] days, Shang Yi invented divination of [lucky] months, Hou Yi invented divination of [lucky] years, Hu Cao invented clothing, Yi Yi invented the bow, Zhu Rong invented the marketplace/trade, Yi Di invented alcohol, Gao Yuan invented the room/house, Yu Xu invented the boat, Bo Yi invented the well, Chi Ji invented the mortar, Cheng Ya invented the harness, Han Ai invented the carriage, Wang Hai invented the domestication of oxen, Scribe Huang invented the map/chart, Sorcerer Peng invented medicine, Sorcerer Xian invented divination. These twenty officials [are] what the Sage used to rule all under Heaven. The Sage Kings [by themselves] were not able to accomplish [the equivalent to] the affairs of twenty officials; however, [the Sage Kings] ordered the twenty officials about, [in order to] exhaust their skills [and] complete their capabilities, [and was able to do so because] the Sage King occupied the position of [their] superior. Whatever the Sage King [was] not capable [of doing himself], [is] what [he] employed [the twenty officials for,] in order to make himself capable. That which [he] did not know, [is] what [he] used [them for,] in order to make himself knowledgeable. [He] nurtured his spirit, cultivated his virtue and [was] transformed already. How can it be necessary [for him to] belabour [his] body [or cause] worry and harm to [his] ears and the eyes?! This therefore [is] the Sage's virtue: In harmony! Like the moon [just] beginning to emerge, [he is] the utmost degree of illumination for the whole world and does not have anything to limit or exhaust [him]. Clear! Like the moon's light, [he] transforms the ten thousand things and does not have anything [he] does not put into practice. Spirit united! [Like] *Taiyi*, [there is] nothing [that is] capable of exhausting [his] life, and [his] intentions [are] impossible to hinder or block. Proficient! [Like] the ghosts and spirits, [he is] deeply refined, profoundly subtle, and none can see his form. Today [he] faces South, [and] the one hundred evils [all] regulate themselves, and all under Heaven all return to [being guided by] their natures. The common people completely take joy in their will/goalss, are content to nurture their nature, and none are not accomplishing. Therefore one who is a good ruler, unreservedly obeys the essences of [both] human nature [and] the mandate, and the one hundred officials [will be] ruled already, the common people [will be] close already, [and his] name/title [will be] stamped already [in some official way in order to establish his legitimacy].

7.2.14 *Chuci* 楚辭 “Xi Shi” 惜誓 (Sorrow for Troth Betrayed):

惜餘年老而日衰兮，歲忽忽而不反。
登蒼天而高舉兮，歷眾山而日遠。
觀江河之紆曲兮，離四海之霑濡。
攀北極而一息兮，吸沆瀣以充虛。
飛朱鳥使先驅兮，駕太一之象輿。
蒼龍蚺虺於左驂兮，白虎騁而為右騂。
建日月以為蓋兮，載玉女於後車。
馳騫於杳冥之中兮，休息崑崙之墟。
樂窮極而不厭兮，願從容虛神明。

涉丹水而駢騁兮，右大夏之遺風。¹⁹⁸

Cherish/have pity for my remaining years and [my] waning days, [my] years now [pass] and will not return. [I] ascend to Heaven and am lifted up high, to pass by many mountains and daily [go] farther. [I] watch the [various] rivers twisting and bending, [and] leave the four seas' moist spray. [I] climb up to the Pole Star and breathe, breathe in the evening mist in order to be like the Void. The flying Crimson Bird is the messenger and harbinger [flying out ahead of me as I] harness *Taiyi*'s image like a chariot. The Azure Dragon is on the left/Eastern side of the team of horses, the White Tiger gallops and is [acting as] the right/Western side's horse with a yellow back.¹⁹⁹ [I] establish the sun and moon to use as [my] canopy. [I] am loaded with Jade Women²⁰⁰ in the back of [my] cart. I gallop, seeking, into the centre of the distant and obscure netherworlds. Happy to the utmost extreme, [I am] delighted. [I] hope to leisurely call to the Spirits and Luminaries. [I] wade through the Red Waters and give free reign to my camel. On the right side [is] Great Xia's customs handed down for generations.

7.2.15 *Chuci* 楚辭 “The Nine Laments 九嘆: Yuan Shi 遠逝 (Going Far Away)”

志隱隱而鬱怫兮，愁獨哀而冤結。
腸紛紜以繚轉兮，涕漸漸其若屑。
情慨慨而長懷兮，信上皇而質正。
合五嶽與八靈兮，訊九軀與六神。
指列宿以白情兮，訴五帝以置辭。
北斗為我折中兮，太一為餘聽之。
雲服陰陽之正道兮，御後土之中和。
佩蒼龍之螭蚪兮，帶隱虹之透蛇。
曳彗星之皓旰兮，撫朱爵與駿驥。
游清靈之颯戾兮，服雲衣之披披。
杖玉策與朱旗兮，垂明月之玄珠。
舉霓旌之帶翳兮，建黃纁之總旄。
躬純粹而罔愆兮，承皇考之妙儀。²⁰¹

My will [is growing] faint and depressedly angry, [I am] anxiously alone [in my] grieving and [my] feelings of bitterness are bearing fruit. My intestines are confused, entangled and rotating,

¹⁹⁸ David Hawkes, *Songs of the South: An Anthology of Ancient Chinese Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets*, (London: Penguin Classics, 1985), 238. Also found online at Donald Sturgeon's Chinese Text Project, <http://chinese.dsturgeon.net/text.pl?node=51807&if=en>

¹⁹⁹ I think there could be a line missing here. There are four constellations associated with the four directions, which are each represented by an animal: The Crimson Bird, the Azure Dragon, and the White Tiger represent the South, East, and West, respectively. However, there is no mention of the North or its respective animal, the Black Tortoise, in this poem. There is, however, a slight allusion to the tortoise in the phrase 'I use the sun and the moon as my canopy' because the character for 'canopy' (蓋) can also mean the shell of a tortoise.

²⁰⁰ Jade Women are praiseworthy, valuable, and beautiful women.

²⁰¹ David Hawkes, *Songs of the South: An Anthology of Ancient Chinese Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets*, (London: Penguin Classics, 1985). Also found online at Donald Sturgeon's Chinese Text Project, <http://chinese.dsturgeon.net/text.pl?node=51807&if=en>

[my] tears flowing, their [falling down is] like crumbs [falling]. [However, my] emotions [have been] deeply touched [and] for a long time [I] have cherished [and] trusted in the High Emperor and [his?] upright character. [So why not] convene the Five Mountains²⁰² with the Spirits of the Eight Directions²⁰³, question the Nine Stars [of the Big Dipper]²⁰⁴ and the Six Spirits [of the Six Ancestors]. Refer to the rows of constellations, [and] by means of pure feeling inform the Five High Gods to take [my] confession. The Big Dipper will be my arbitrator, *Taiyi* will be my ‘[person who] listens to it’. [I] say [I will] obey *yin* and *yang*’s upright Way, [in] the lands of the emperor and empress’ harmonious centre. [I will] wear at my waist the constellation of the Azure Dragon.²⁰⁵ [I will] wear at my belt a concealed rainbow’s curving snake.²⁰⁶ [I will] drag a comet’s luminous sunset. [I will] stroke the Vermillion Sparrow²⁰⁷ and the [bird resembling] the Golden Pheasant. [I will] wander in the Clear Numinous’ wind, [and] wear clothes of clouds draped over my shoulders. Flogging a jade whip, [I carry] a vermilion banner, [and] hanging down is the bright moon’s black pearl [shadow]. [I will] raise up the Secondary Rainbow-hued banner of the Mountain Peak Nebula, [and] establish the yellow and crimson [colors] together [on one] banner. Personally unadulterated and without fault, [my appearance is] indebted to my honorable deceased father the Sovereign’s wonderful appearance.

7.2.16 *Chuci* 楚辞 “The Nine Regrets 九怀: Wei Jun 危俊 (Dangerous Heights)”

林不容兮鳴蜩，餘何留兮中州？
 陶嘉月兮總駕，搴玉英兮自脩。
 結榮茝兮逶迤，將去烝兮遠游。
 徑岱土兮魏闕，歷九曲兮牽牛。
 聊假日兮相伴，遺光耀兮周流。
 望太一兮淹息，紆餘轡兮自休。
 晞白日兮皎皎，彌遠路兮悠悠。
 顧列宇兮縹緲，觀幽雲兮陳浮。
 鉅寶遷兮砢礪，雉咸雛兮相求。
 泱莽莽兮究志，懼吾心兮憊憊。
 步餘馬兮飛柱，覽可與兮匹儔。
 卒莫有兮纖介，永餘思兮怊怊。²⁰⁸

The woods do not contain the singing cicada, [so] why do I remain in the central prefecture?
 Content in a good month to assemble [my] harness, [and] by myself cultivate [and] weave

²⁰² The Five Mountains are Hengshan in Hunan, Huashen in Shaanxi, Hengshan in Shanxi and Songshan in Henan.

²⁰³ According to the commentary of a different chapter 《楚辞·怨思》注：“八方之神也。” The “Eight Numinous” are the Spirits of the Eight Directions, that is, of the S, SE, E, NE, N, NW, W, SW.

²⁰⁴ According to a second commentary in that same chapter 洪兴祖 补注：“北斗七星，辅一星在第六星旁。又招摇一星在北斗杓端。” This refers to the 7 stars of the Big Dipper, supplemented by one star at the sixth star’s side, and one more star at the end of the dipper’s handle.

²⁰⁵ Literally: the dark green dragon’s wormy young dragon with horns.

²⁰⁶ This is likely another constellation.

²⁰⁷ These two birds are also likely constellations.

²⁰⁸ Donald Sturgeon’s Chinese Text Project <http://chinese.dsturgeon.net/text.pl?node=51978&if=en>

flourishing angelica in winding passes, [I am] about to leave for many far-off wanderings. [My] path will take me to the lands of Taishan Mountain, [to] the gates of the Imperial Palace of Wei. [I will] cover the nine bends [of the Yellow River]²⁰⁹ [as I] lead along [my] ox.²¹⁰ [I will take] merely one day off [and] pretend [I've] lost the bright and glorious, make a circuit [and] wander around. [I will] look up to the *Taiyi* and take a deep breath, twist my bridle, and rest my body. [As] the pure day dawns very clear and bright, more distant journeys are drawn out. [I] turn around and look at the rows of comets, misty and indistinct, [and] observe the clouds of the netherworlds, floating on display. The Great Jewel rumbles, the pheasants all crow like [they] are seeking [him].²¹¹ [In the] Vast and Boundless, [I] examine [my] will, [causing] fear [in] my heart [and] worry. [I] walk my horse [to] the Flying/Groundless Pillars, to see [if it is] possible to be accompanied by a suitable companion. In the end, no-one exists [that I could]—even a little bit—take seriously [as a suitable companion]. Forever I think of [this] sorrow.

²⁰⁹ I am not certain exactly what this phrase refers to, however, Josephine Chiu-Duke suggested to me (in a personal communication, April 14, 2010) that since the poem refers to going to Taishan Mountain in Shandong province, 九曲 could refer to the nine turnings of the Yellow River between Xi'an and Shandong. It is also possible that this 九曲 refers to a constellation of nine stars ('The Nine Points'), as suggested by Hawkes, however I was not able to track down which nine stars this could be referring to. So while it is possible that this line is: "I cover the Nine Points and the Cowherd Star," as Hawkes suggests, the constellation with the Cowherd Star (see next footnote) is said to have a maximum of seven stars, so it doesn't quite fit. Josephine Chiu-Duke suggested that it could be read: "I will cover the nine turnings of the Yellow River to where the Cowherd Star resides," which would eliminate the problem of 'points,' and make the poet the 'Weaving Girl,' metaphorically (see next footnote). However, I don't see how 牽牛 could grammatically be read as "to where the Cowherd Star resides." Perhaps "I will cover the nine bends of the Yellow River, led by the Cowherd Star" is more suitable. That way, the Cowherd Star would be drawing the author forward, towards his destination.

²¹⁰ While this line makes sense the way I have written it, 牽牛 is also a name for The Cowherd Star, or Altair, as it is known in the West. See previous footnote for an alternate phrasing of this line. According to China History Forum, <http://www.chinahistoryforum.org/lofiversion/index.php/t19984.html>, which is quoting from Hong Shuling. 1988. *Research of Cowherd and Weaving Girl* (洪淑苓) Taiwan: Taiwan's Student Bookstore, (pages unknown), "The original Cowherd star was actually the Chinese constellation called 牽牛星 (qian niu xing) or simply 牛宿 (niu xio). Originally, it was just an Ox, and it was a white bull for sacrificial purpose. It was connected to Chinese ancient mythology and sacrifice rituals for farming. Eventually, it was transformed into a man in the stars as the Cowherd to match with the Weaving Girl star in heaven. The original Weaving girl star was the Chinese constellation 婺女 (wu nu) or 須女 (xu nu). The simple term for it was 女宿 (nu xio). Later, a bright star in the Chinese constellation 牛宿 became the Weaving girl star, and it is Vega in the western constellation Lyra, or Lyra-α. Because the original star for Cowherd was a bit far from the Weaving Girl star Vega, another star became the Cowherd star, and that is Chinese star 河鼓二 (he gu er - River drum 2) in 牛宿. It is the star Altair in Aquila constellation or Aquila-α."

²¹¹ According to David Hawkes, this is a reference to a cult in the Former Han who worshipped a god Tian Bao (the Heavenly Jewel), who was said to have the head of a pheasant. Their mythology explains that when Tian Bao arrives, there is a meteor shower and a sound of the crashing of stones, followed by the crows of pheasants. David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u*, 144.

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